

DEATH

A Study in Pauline Theology

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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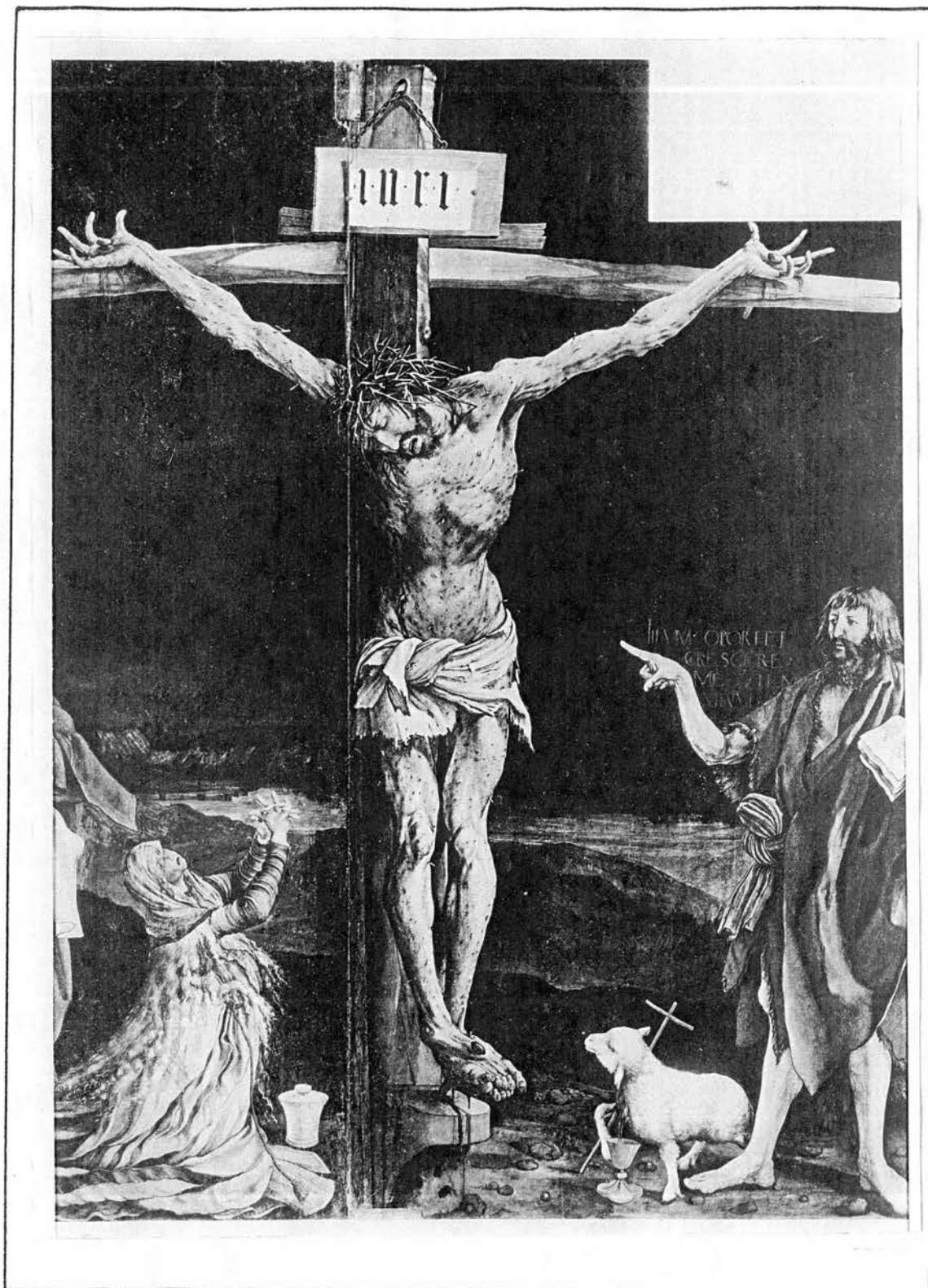
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According to the Apostle Paul, the two comprehensive features of the present age which make it an evil age (Gal. 1:4) are sin and death -- of which the first is cause and the second is effect. The rebellion of Adam made possible the entrance of sin's power into the very substance of the cosmos, resulting in the corruption (death) of the whole of God's good creation.

In the Pauline letters no aspect of death is ever treated as natural. Death is always the work of sin. Death's power is in no way distinct from sin's power nor any less extensive. Wherever there is resistance to God's will, there is death; and death is the "last enemy" because it will be finally destroyed only when the last resistance to Christ's reign is overcome.

Sin's special stronghold is in the flesh. That is why Paul speaks of the fleshly body as a "body of sin" and a "body of death". Sin's power is so great in every person's "members" that his "inner man" is inevitably overwhelmed and, joining in Adam's sin, he dies spiritually. A measure of sin's power in the flesh is the fact that when the Law challenges sin's presence the Law itself is made an instrument of sin to deceive and to kill. Even when by union with Christ the believer becomes, through the power of the Holy Spirit, spiritually alive with the life of the coming age of glory, his body remains under the power of death. The body will become liberated from death's power only at the Parousia, when by Christ's power it will be transformed into a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. In the intermediate state the man in Christ, though he is with Christ and at rest from the bitter tension and conflict between the Spirit and the flesh which he experienced as long as he was in a body of sinful flesh, awaits in hope the full life of glory which he will receive -- together with all the sons of God and with all the *κτίσις* -- at the resurrection, when his body will at last be redeemed from its thralldom to sin and death.

Total victory over death is already the experience of one man, Jesus Christ. He now lives the life of the coming age of glory in a redeemed body. His triumph over death is the result of his triumph over sin in the flesh, wrought by a perfect act of righteousness: his obedient acceptance of the undeserved death of a sinner in its fullest dimensions of horror on behalf of his sinful brothers. Because his death was fully representative and substitutionary, he is able to share his victory over death with all who will accept union with him in his death. To die with Christ means the death of the ego in faith and love and, also, a joining in the sufferings of Christ which Christ's body, the church, experiences as Christ uses it to make effective in the lives of all men the redemptive results of his vicarious death.



The Crucifixion -- detail from Isenheim Altar

Matthias Grunewald
c. 1475-1528

οὐ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία,
ὑπερπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις.

Romans 5:20

*

*

*

Death in itself is not beautiful, not even the death of Jesus. Death before Easter is really the Death's head surrounded by the odour of decay. And the death of Jesus is as loathsome as the great painter Grunewald depicted it in the Middle Ages. But precisely for this reason the same painter understood how to paint, along with it, in an incomparable way, the great victory, the Resurrection of Christ: Christ in the new body, the Resurrection body. Whoever paints a pretty death can paint no resurrection. Whoever has not grasped the horror of death cannot join Paul in the hymn of victory: 'Death is swallowed up — in victory! O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?'

— O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, p. 27.



The Resurrection -- panel from Isenheim Altarpiece

Matthias Grunewald
c. 1475-1528

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P R E F A C E

The purpose of this study is to bring together everything to be found in the letters of Paul about death and to discern from this evidence, as fully as it allows, the mind of Paul on the subject of death. The materials are abundant and varied. For example, the Apostle uses 39 terms to refer to death in the several ways in which he conceived of it, and these terms are used approximately two hundred and fifty times (see Appendix).

Because Paul's thoughts about death are strikingly varied, it seemed desirable to adopt an approach which avoids, as far as possible, the danger of narrowing down and misunderstanding the Apostle's thought by forcing it into a pattern which did not exist in his own mind. Therefore, each chapter attempts to exhibit his thinking on one of the several themes concerned with death which, either explicitly or by implication, appear again and again in his letters. This approach involves some overlapping and repetition, but it is hoped that this will be more instructive than tedious. However, it has not been possible -- or desirable -- to follow this approach to the point where each theme is entirely isolated from the others. The language used in formulating the themes and the order in which they are considered involve some judgment as to the logical pattern of Paul's thought, and later chapters build on the findings of earlier ones.

It is with the content of Paul's theology of death rather than with the sources of that theology that this study is concerned. But since the two are not entirely separable, consideration will be given to the question of sources insofar as that is necessary to make clear the content. It may be of value to the reader to be told now that the author has found two sources to be of the utmost consequence: first, Paul's experience of meeting the Christ of glory on the Damascus road and, second, Paul's understanding of Genesis 1-3 in the light of that experience.

All of the letters attributed to Paul in the New Testament, except First and Second Timothy and Titus, are treated as Pauline. However, the doctrines concerning death are so pervasive and consistent that the results would not be greatly different if the evidence were restricted to letters the authenticity of which is not questioned.

Quotations from the Bible in English are, unless otherwise noted, from the Revised Standard Version, except where single words or brief phrases are isolated and given another translation in order to bring out the sense of the original.

Quotations from the Greek New Testament are from the second edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society's text (London: 1953).

Apart from the use of the R.S.V., an effort has been made to conform the spelling of English to that found in The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 4th ed.

The author is grateful to many who have contributed in one or another to make this study possible. I wish here especially to acknowledge the helpful and friendly guidance I have received from my advisers,

Professor James S. Stewart, D.D. and the Rev. Ian A. Moir, Ph. D. and to express my gratitude to my wife for her labours at the typewriter and for her counsel and encouragement in matters both large and small. To the British people I would express my sincere thanks for their generosity and kindness shown in a variety of ways to my family and to me during our present stay in Britain.

The two photographs of paintings by Matthias Grunewald were made by the Edinburgh University Library from prints published by R. Piper & Co. Verlag, Munich, in 1919.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BKWK - Bible Key Words from Kittel's TWNT
- Ex B - Expositor's Bible
- Ex GT - Expositor's Greek Testament
- ICC - International Critical Commentary
- MNTC - Moffatt New Testament Commentary
- SJT - Scottish Journal of Theology
- TBC - Torch Bible Commentaries
- TWNT - Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
- WC - Westminster Commentaries
- ZNTW - Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CHAPTER ONE

Death as the Work of Sin

Death, according to Paul, flows from sin whereas life flows from righteousness. These twin doctrines together constitute one of the determining features of the whole structure of Pauline theology.

This is made clear in the exposition of Paul's doctrine of salvation which he sent to the church at Rome (Rom. 1:16-8:39). He begins that exposition by declaring that the gospel offers the divine power necessary for salvation to everyone who will respond to it in faith (1:16). He then implies (1:17) that divine power is necessary to rescue all men from death caused by the power of sin. This he does by asserting that the gospel makes known the offer, to those who have faith, of a gift of righteousness from God, by which the man of faith will be enabled to live. He quotes the word of Scripture: "He who through faith is righteous shall live."¹

Having thus announced his theme he proceeds to its development by first demonstrating that every person, whether Jew or Gentile, is "under the power of sin" (ὑπὸ ἀμαρτίας, 3:9) and needs "the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ" (3:22). "Knowledge of sin" (3:20) is a prerequisite of saving faith, through which one receives emancipation in the death of Christ (3:24 f.). Emancipation consists in acquittal from the guilt of sins and liberation from the power of sin. Emancipation from sin means that the believer now has life, whereas he was dead (6:13);

¹For a defense^c of this translation see Nygren, Commentary on Romans, London, 1952, pp. 81 ff.

because he is now at peace with God (5:1) whereas he was an enemy (5:10).

Reconciliation through Christ makes possible that communion with God which is life (8:1, 2, 6).

For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord (6:23).

There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death (8:1 f.).¹

In the course of this exposition Paul introduces two great Old Testament figures. The first is Abraham, whom Paul offers in evidence for his doctrine that justification is by faith and not by works of the law (chap. 4). The second is Adam, whom Paul offers in evidence for his doctrine that the righteous death of one man can avail to rescue all men from the dominance of sin and death (5:12-21). Abraham is the father of Israel, and Paul uses him to help those who were zealous for the law to grasp his doctrine of justification. Adam is the father of all men, and the apostle uses him to help all men to see how Christ can give life to them all (5:12, 18). The argument from Abraham comes at the end of the chapters (1-4) given to an explanation of justification by faith, and the argument from Adam comes near the beginning of the chapters (5-8) given to an explanation of how life flows from righteousness.

¹Ibid., p. 86. "In the first part of the epistle, to the end of chapter 4, Paul gives himself with great precision to the first half of his theme; he discusses the man who through faith is justified. In the second part (chap. 5-8) he affirms the second half of the theme, what is to happen to the one thus justified: he 'shall live'." Nygren offers in support of his thesis the fact that in chapters 1-4 πίστις (or πιστεύειν) appears "at least 25 times" while in chapters 5-8 it is to be found only twice. "As to the word ζωή (with its related ζῆν, ζωοποιεῖν), we find exactly the opposite. Not counting the thematic verse, the word is used only twice in chapters 1-4; but in chapters 5-8 we find it 25 times."

The Adam-passage, therefore, comes near the center of Paul's exposition, and this may well be taken to symbolize its significance, not only for chapters 5-8 but for the whole. Nygren regards it as "the high point of the epistle, in the light of which the whole is best to be understood."¹

"Adam-passage" is actually a misnomer; because Christ is really the central figure, and Adam serves only as a foil for Paul's desire to show how great is redemption in Christ. Adam is "a type of the one who was to come" (5:14).² Adam is brought in by Paul to help all men to see how desperate their condition is apart from Christ: to help them to see why justification by faith can be the only way of salvation and why Christ came bringing life. Justification by faith is the only way men can be

¹Ibid., p. 20. "Some have thought the passage an epilogue to what has preceded. Others have called it a prologue to what follows. But the truth is that this passage is actually the high point of the epistle, in the light of which the whole is best to be understood." See also p. 207: "In these ten verses comes together all that Paul had discussed in the preceding chapters, both about the wrath of God and God's righteousness, and all that which he is about to present in the chapters that follow. Here the whole problem of Romans is brought together in this brief passage that is filled to overflowing with vital thought."

²Cf. K. Barth, Christ and Adam, SJT, Occasional Papers #5, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 6: "Adam can therefore be interpreted only in the light of Christ and not the other way round." Cf. also Nygren, op. cit., p. 211. Paul could not introduce Adam at the beginning of chapter 5, "for Adam did not signify to Paul something independent of Christ. It is Paul's intention to discuss Adam only as the antitype of Christ; hence he cannot discuss Adam till he has spoken of Christ."

It is the Second Adam who dominates Rom. 5 as in all of Paul's theology. Cf. M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam", SJT, vol. 7, p. 172 f. In both Rom. 5 and 1 Cor. 15 "the Apostle preferred to express his thoughts about Christ in terms which pointed upwards to the transcendent Lord rather than earthwards and backwards, in 'the second man' or 'the last Adam'....While the typology is strictly Adam-Christ, not Adam-Second Adam, the Second Adam doctrine provided St. Paul with the scaffolding, if not the basic structure, for his redemption and resurrection Christology."

saved, because they are the helpless underlings of the tyrant sin. Apart from Christ the power of sin reigns (5:21), and only the divine power which in Christ invaded sin's sphere can set men free from their thralldom to sin's power. Only a divine gift of righteousness can avail to make men righteous before God; only the power of God to make alive (cf. 4:17 ff.) can rescue men from sin's consequences. What are the consequences of sin's rule over the world? Death.¹ This fateful term, for Paul, summarizes all the evil effects of sin. Because of Adam's rebellion the awesome power of sin was permitted to enter into the cosmos (ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν, 5:12) and to establish its reign. The effect of its universal reign is death. ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ; that is why Christ came bringing eternal life (5:21). As "death reigned" through Adam, "much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ" (5:17).

Paul's doctrine of sin is very radical — as is, conversely, his doctrine of redemption — and Paul uses the Genesis account of the Fall to help his readers to understand just how serious the problem of sin is. His intention is not adequately grasped, however, unless one realizes that when Paul speaks of death as the result of sin he is giving to the

¹Cf. E. Brunner, Dogmatics, III, trans. by D. Cairns and T. H. L. Parker, London, 1962, p. 386, "If this connection begins to be seen already in the Old Testament — even if only hinted at and imperfectly grasped — it is radically acknowledged in the New Testament: death is the consequence of sin, and punishment for it. 'Death is the wages of sin' (Rom. 6:23), death entered into the world through sin (Rom. 5:12). Since man is no longer confronted merely by the prophetic Word as was the Psalmist, but by the Word Incarnate in Jesus Christ, the New Testament no longer speaks, as does the Old, merely about sins, but about sin as a negative entity comprising the totality of existence. In the New Testament sin and death are seen as a unity; where sin rules, there death also rules."

term "death" a far wider meaning than it usually has. This is clearly expressed by Nygren:

If we are rightly to understand the contrast between death and life...we must realize that Paul here sees in death a meaning much deeper and more pervasive than we ordinarily understand by the term. He does not mean merely the termination of this life. He pronounces the judgment that rests on this life too. He is not saying merely that we have life for a time, after which life ends in death; nor is he aiming to explain the fact of such death. What Paul had to say to the effect that sin came into the world through Adam, and death through sin, has often been interpreted as if he, with theoretical interest, looked into the past for an explanation of the phenomenon that man must die, after he has lived for a longer or shorter time. But that is certainly to misunderstand his words. What he is saying is rather that all that we call life, with all that it encompasses, lies under the dominion of death. He finds that all humanity's life, from Adam till now, is lived under the mark and condition of death. Death rules supreme in this world — and it is to miss the point to ask whether this means physical, spiritual, or eternal death. Death is the status of all who belong to this world, the children of Adam.¹

K. Barth, discussing v. 16 of our passage, writes:

What is this *κατάκριμα*, this punishment or condemnation? Paul's answer is that it is the lordship of death....To say that death rules over all men is not the same as to say, with v. 15b, that all men have died. It emphasizes that death is an objective and alien power that is now exercising its lordship over man. Death, like sin, is an intruder into human life....Death is not so much God's direct reaction against man's sin; it is rather God's abandoning of the men who have abandoned Him....With God's rule there goes also God's protection.²

Paul saw in sin a metaphysical power³ which opposes everything God stands for and which aims to corrupt all of God's handiwork; and he under-

¹Ibid., p. 22.

²Op. cit., p. 13.

³Cf. Ernst Lohmeyer, *Probleme Paulinischer Theologie*, Stuttgart, 1955. "Paulus bezeichnet also mit *ἀμαρτία* zunächst nicht Verfehlungen gegen eine

stood death to be the typical result of sin's anti-creative activities. God gives life, but sin works death. When Adam, made in the very image of God to have dominion over the earth (Gen. 1:27 f.), abandoned God, the creation was abandoned to the futility (*μεταόρης*, emptiness, transitoriness) which comes from "bondage to decay" (Rom. 8:20 f.). Death reigns over creation in all the forms of misery which result from sin's depredations.

It would appear that Paul read the Genesis account of the Fall somewhat along the following lines. When God told Adam not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he warned of only one consequence if he should disobey: death -- immediate death. "Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die" (Gen. 2:17). Now God keeps his word. The punishment was immediate, and was not postponed to the end of Adam's life. Furthermore, God did not go beyond the threatened punishment when Adam's sin resulted in a variety of calamities. All of these are encompassed by the death which flows from sin.¹ Having disobeyed God, Adam felt a sense of shame

Norm, die Menschen wirken oder denken, sondern ein gegenständliches Etwas, das seine Geltung und Wirklichkeit auch abgelöst von diesen willentlichen Taten bewahrt." (p. 80). Noting that Paul writes of man living "under sin", sin "reviving" in him and making him its slave etc. Lohmeyer concludes: "In allen solchen Aussagen wird die Sünde zu einer schreckhaften mythischen Gewalt; nicht der Mensch wirkt sie, sondern sie wirkt in ihm. Ihr Reich besteht aus eigener, nicht mehr menschlicher Macht; in ihm ist jeder, gezwungen oder freiwillig, despotisch geknechteter Untertan, der den Willen seiner Herrin auch dann erfüllen muss, wenn er ihn nicht bejaht." (p. 81). Sin is "'die Sünde' als eine mythisch erhöhte, widergöttliche Macht zu denken, die Welt und Menschen unerbittlich fesselt und beherrscht." (p. 84).

¹Is. 25:7 f. would seem to take a similar position. Death appears to be identified with a general condition of disorder and misery in the world: "the covering that is cast over all peoples, the veil that is spread over all nations."

(3:7) and a fear of the presence of God (3:8 f.), both for the first time. The relations between husband and wife now deteriorate: enmity (3:12) and domination (3:16b) appear. Enmity between man and beast starts (3:13, 15). The problem of pain begins (3:16). There is a disordering of nature, making for frustration and bitter toil in man's efforts to win a living from the soil; and new, distorted forms of organic life appear (3:17, 18, 19a). Finally, man's destiny now is to end in dissolution, a return to the dust in defeat (3:19). In short, man now lives in quite a different world: a world which has come to be dominated by death. There can be little doubt that Paul consciously used Genesis 2 and 3 as a Scriptural support for his doctrine that death comes only from sin and for his wide conception of death.

Another feature of the exposition of Pauline doctrine found in Rom. 1-8 concerns the law and shows how radical Paul's doctrines of sin and salvation are. First century Judaism recognized that man has an ingrained bent toward evil.¹ The writer of Fourth Ezra, for instance, took a very serious view of this leaning towards sin. Adam had it from the beginning (4 Ez. 3:21), and having sinned he brought death upon himself and his descendants (3:7). This confirmed the tendency towards evil (3:22), which has caused great havoc ever since and will cause the eternal destruction of most people (7:48). But there are those, however few, who keep the law (3:36). Ezra, gloomy about his own chances of salvation and grieving for the multitudes who will be lost is assured by the angel that he has a "treasure of works laid up with the Most High" (7:77).

¹See pp. 110 ff.

Paul, however, teaches that "no human being will be justified" in the sight of God "by works of the law"; that all the law can do is to make known that all men are powerless underlings of sin (Rom. 3:20). And worse than that: the authority of the law coming upon a man only serves to stir up the power of sin and so causes his death (7:7 ff.). The power of sin is so great as to make even the law an instrument of death (7:10). The law is not to be blamed, for it is "holy and just and good" (7:12). It is sin, "finding opportunity in the commandment," which deceives and kills (7:11). This passage, it should be noted, was constructed by Paul with the Genesis account of Adam's fall in mind. The situation which it describes, however, is different from that of Adam before his disobedience. The power of sin is now in every person. The law only serves to activate it.

The relation of law to sin and death will be discussed more fully in chapter five. It is only noted here as one of the themes of Paul's letters in which he teaches that sin causes death. We should also note, again, that such passages as Romans 7 serve to provide a dark background against which the glorious light of Christ's salvation can better be seen. Sin is a terrible tyrant, yes, and it causes universal death, but the power of God's grace in Christ is far greater than the power of sin. Whereas the law only serves to increase transgression, just there "where sin increased, grace abounded all the more" (5:20). Romans pictures the helplessness of man under the "law of sin and death" in even darker colors than does Fourth Ezra, but whereas the mood of the latter is, in balance, somewhat melancholy, the former is, in balance, a profoundly joyous book.

Another theme which must be noticed here and then left to be discussed more fully in later chapters is that "the flesh" is in a special way responsible for the fact that death holds sway over man and his world. It would appear that, according to Paul's understanding of the Fall, when the power of sin was allowed to enter the world through Adam's rebellion against the Creator, it seized hold of the flesh in a special way and has ever since used it as its stronghold. It is from this stronghold that it emerges to kill the whole man.¹ The reason why a son of Adam, even when he recognizes that he should obey God's law, finds himself disobeying is that he is "carnal" (σάρκινος). Since he is carnal he is a slave to sin (7:14). The law is "weak" to achieve deeds of righteousness in any man because it is up against the strength of sin in the flesh (8:3). It is for the reason that Adam and all his sons had become σάρκινος and therefore helplessly bound under "the law of sin and death" that God sent his Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin" (8:4). The only way the Son of God could enter man's situation to do battle with the power which had mastered man and delivered him over to death was for him to become a being of flesh himself and find himself under the dominion of death (6:9).

Sin in the flesh found its Conqueror in Christ, however, and now stands "condemned" (8:3). Its hold over men is in the way of being broken,

¹Cf. C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St Paul, Cambridge, 1927, p. 49, "By death Paul means neither physical death alone nor 'spiritual death' alone but both; or rather he does not make the distinction. Death was due to the principle of decay introduced by sin into the flesh (cp. 2 Pet. 1:4), which from thenceforth became 'mortal' (θνητός, Ro. 4:12; 2 Cor. 4:11); at the same time it introduced moral as well as physical decay in man who was thus 'cut off from the life of God.'"

because Christ has become the head of a new race of men who share his victory. Those who by faith become united with this Second Adam find such a freedom from the dominion of sin in the flesh that they are enabled to fulfil the "just requirements of the law" (8:4) as they could not before. This is because they have received the power of the Spirit and are able, through grace, to "walk" (and "to live" and to "set the mind") according to the Spirit, liberated from the necessity to obey sin which has its stronghold in the flesh (8:4 ff.). Because sin still holds on to the flesh the believer is still mortal, but sin no longer reigns in the bodies of true believers (6:12). The man "in Christ" is spiritually alive even though death continues its sway over him corporally (8:10). He has been "brought from death to life" (6:13)! But still he waits with eager longing for the "redemption" of his body (8:23) at Christ's coming. Having the Spirit, he has a sure hope of complete liberation from the power of death (8:11).

We have, thus far, by surveying the thought of eight chapters in Romans seen how important to Paul's understanding of Christ's redemptive work is his conviction that death is the work of sin. Death is both the sign and the substance of sin's destructive activity, and it is salvation from the death of sin which the gospel promises. We have thus begun to exhibit the ways in which Paul's mind worked when he thought about death.

CHAPTER TWO

Death as Evil

Since Paul saw in death the vivid evidence of the destruction which the dominance of sin in the flesh works in man and his world, he could not have regarded death as anything but evil. It will be well, however, to see how this attitude is manifested in his writings and to see if it is consistently maintained. This can well be done by comparing Paul's teaching at this point with that of the Old Testament; since his teaching is at the same time very similar to that of the Old Testament and also quite different.

In the faith of Israel death was regarded as a great evil because life, the life of this present world, was highly valued. Death is a great evil, according to the Old Testament, because it is that which removes the possibility of any longer experiencing the joys of this life. Life is a precious gift indeed, because man receives it by the very breath of God (Gen. 2:7), and it permits him to "see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living" (Ps. 27:13).¹ Man's life is made in the very image of God and gives him lordship over an earth which is "very good" (Gen. 1).² This lordship is a thing in which to exult.

¹Cf. K. Barth, Church Dogmatics, III, 2, trans. by H. Knight et al, Edinburgh, 1960, p. 598: "In the biblical demonstration of what has been said, we can first point only to the wholly negative character which the Old Testament gives to its pictures of the nature and reality of death. In the perspective of the Old Testament, what is natural to man is his endowment with the life-giving breath of God which constitutes him as the soul of his body, not his subsequent loss of it. What is natural is the fact that he is and will be, not that he has been. What is natural to him is his being in the land of the living, not his being in the underworld."

²The first chapter of Genesis is far more characteristic of the Old

Yet thou hast made him little less than God,
and dost crown him with glory and honor.
Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands;
thou hast put all things under his feet,
all sheep and oxen, and also the beasts of the field,
the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
whatever passes along the paths of the sea. (Ps. 8:5-8)

"The earth is the Lord's" (Ps. 24:1), and it is one of God's very best gifts to be allowed to remain in the land of the living until one has reached "a good old age" (Gen. 25:8). "Life and good, death and evil" (Deut. 30:15): these were the great sanctions which Moses presented to Israel for obedience or disobedience towards God's commandments.

I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day,
that I have set before you life and death, blessing and
curse; therefore choose life, that you and your descend-
ants may live, loving the LORD your God, obeying his voice,
and cleaving to him; for that means life to you and length
of days. (Deut. 30:19 f.)

Length of days was regarded as a special sign of God's favor, because "the earth is full of the steadfast love $\int \gamma \eta \pi$, kindness, favor, benefit of the Lord" (Ps. 33:5).

In Sheol, the land of the dead, a man is no longer a strong son of God. The dead are but powerless shades ($\int \gamma \eta \pi$),¹ unable any longer to exult in the goodness of the Lord as it is found in the land of the living. Death reduces a person almost to non-existence. Existence in Sheol cannot

Testament than in Gen. 3. The goodness of the life which comes from the hand of God, rather than its corruption at the hands of sin, characterizes the mood of ancient Israel. It is to be noted that the story of the Fall, which influenced Paul (and other Jewish thinkers of his era) so much, finds no further direct use in the Old Testament. Ezekiel 28:2 ff. may possibly allude to it; see C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, London, 1962, p. 12.

¹Cf. J. Pedersen, Israel, I-II, London, 1926, p. 180, "The dead is a soul bereft of strength....The dead is still a soul, but a soul that has lost its substance and strength: it is a misty vapour or a shadow."

properly be termed life; it is but the shadow of what was once life.¹

Sheol is "the land of forgetfulness" (Ps. 88:12) where there is no remembrance of Yahweh and where praise of Yahweh is not to be found (Ps. 6:5; 30:9; 87:10).

For Sheol cannot thank thee,
death cannot praise thee;
those who go down to the pit cannot hope
for thy faithfulness.
The living, the living, he thanks thee. (Is. 38:18 f.)

Therefore, the Israelite would wish "that he should continue to live on for ever, and never see the Pit" (Ps. 49:9; 89:48). The salvation of the Lord consists in rescue from things, such as iniquity and disease, which bring one to the Pit and in receiving from the Lord those things which renew the strength of youth (Ps. 103:2 ff.). As a result, suicide was almost unknown among the Hebrews.²

The book of Ecclesiastes appears to be an exception to all of this, for there we read that the day of death is better than the day of birth (7:1). Koheleth "hated life, because what is done under the sun was grievous to me; for all is vanity and a striving after wind" (2:17). But it is to be noted that the complaint which is found most often in the book is just that men die. That, above all, makes life seem vain.

¹Cf. K. Barth, op. cit., p. 619, "They were once alive and therefore have not simply become nothing but are as those who used to be."

²Cf. David Daube, "Death as a Release in the Bible", Novum Testamentum, vol. 5, July 1962, pp. 82-104.

Cf. K. Barth, op. cit., p. 598 f., "It is always a kind of culpable extravagance to man when he longs for death, like Elijah under the juniper tree (1 K. 19:4) or Jonah under the gourd (Jonah 4:8). It is only hypothetically that Job protests to God that he prefers death to his suffering. The suicides of Saul and Judas are "deeds of despair which demonstrate their rejection by God and prove that death is the supreme evil of human life."

There are a few expressions in the Old Testament which almost seem to say that life does not end in the Pit, but that for those who have come to know God in all the fulness of his covenant-love death does not really kill; instead, for them, fellowship with the Lord continues for ever.¹ These expressions are, however, never unequivocal. In every case they can also be taken to refer to the salvation God brings to his saints in rescuing them when they are in immediate danger of going to Sheol, and to the wondrous experience of fellowship with Yahweh which they have as long as they remain in the land of the living.²

They do indicate, however, the development of the kind of faith which will at length be able to assert the certainty of God's eventual triumph over death.³ Before the Old Testament period concludes, expressions of such a faith do begin to appear. There is the "brief marginal note"⁴ found in Isaiah 25:8, "He will swallow up death for ever." Then there is Isaiah 25:19, "Thy dead shall live, their bodies [Heb. "my body"]

¹Eg. Ps. 16:9-11; 49:15; 73:23-28.

²K. Barth, op. cit., p. 618, insists that the witness of the O.T. never rises above the level of Ps. 118:17, "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." "The Old Testament", he writes, "knows nothing of a renewal of man in a time after his death, of a continuation of his life, of resurrection in this sense, and therefore of an eternal life granted to him."

³Cf. R. Martin-Achard, From Death to Life, trans. by J. P. Smith, Edinburgh, 1960, p. 181, "Without actually being aware of it, the Hasidim are battering the gates of the kingdom of the dead...preparing the way for future generations to proclaim that death is impotent against those who are living in communion with the Living God."

⁴Ibid., p. 129, "Prospects undreamed of are opened up by this brief marginal note; the New Testament will define them with precision when it comes to proclaim: 'Death shall be no more'."

shall rise. O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!"¹ Finally, there is the one completely unequivocal passage found in Daniel 12:2, "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."² These latter passages, the final word of the Old Testament on the subject of death, point forward to the Christian gospel, but in doing so they remain faithful to the attitude of the Old Testament.³ They do not promise some kind of immortality of the soul, which would deny that death is a great evil; but they promise the defeat of death by a return to the land of the living in a resurrected body.⁴

¹It is possible that this passage, like Ezek. 37:1-14, was really intended to refer to national restoration rather than to a literal resurrection of dead bodies, but the fact that such a hope is expressed in terms of resurrection is of the greatest significance.

²Cf. Martin-Achard, op. cit., p. 140, "Here we have a text that, for the first time, unequivocally proclaims the resurrection of the dead; this passage, unique in the Old Testament, marks, at one and the same time, the end of a long quest and the beginning of a new way of understanding human destiny."

³J. Pedersen, op. cit., pp. 334 f., "Salvation is never like the Hellenistic soteria, a deliverance from corporeal life. This would be contrary to the psychological conception, nowhere abandoned in the Old Testament. One is saved for the world, not from the world. A special immortality of the soul is consequently out of the question.

.....
 "When the thought of the abolition of death grew upon Israel, it meant, as already mentioned, the continuation of earthly life, without infringement or interruption. The thought was carried further and supplemented by the idea that also some of those departed should have their share in the great salvation; this then would necessarily take the shape that their bodies should be resurrected."

⁴The purpose of the foregoing has not been to sketch the development of ideas about life after death in Israel but to characterize the O.T. attitude towards death in order to be able to compare Paul's attitude with it. Therefore a discussion of the apocryphal books and other intertestamental literature is not required.

In the writings of the Apostle Paul we find the Old Testament attitude towards death as evil maintained in an important way. He teaches that death is inexpressibly evil because it totally negates life. Life and death are completely opposed (2 Cor. 2:16). One stands for salvation in that it makes fellowship with God possible, while the other stands for that total destruction which is separation from the goodness of the Lord.¹ Full salvation will be possible only when death, "the last enemy", is finally destroyed (1 Cor. 15:26). Furthermore, this final destruction of death will take place only when the body is redeemed (Rom. 8:23). If there is no resurrection, death means that we perish without hope (1 Cor. 15:18).

It must be recognized, however, that Paul's conception of death as evil also differs radically from that of the Old Testament. The difference between life and death is no longer, with Paul, simply the difference between real existence in this world and shadow-existence in the realm of the dead. One does not experience the two conditions only by passing, because of bodily dissolution, from life to death. One may also pass from death to life quite apart from any change in one's physiological condition. Whether one is dead or alive depends upon his response to the gospel of Jesus Christ; he can be "dead in sin" (Eph. 2:1) or he can be "made alive" with Christ (Col. 2:13). "Es ist bekannt, dass

¹Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, London, 1957, p. 35, "θάνατος, death, is the end term of that separation from God which is portrayed in the other phrases that Paul uses to characterise the human situation, viz.: ἐχθρά, enmity, the twisting of the fundamental relationship between man and God (and consequently also of that between man and man) to a sterile antagonism, and ὀργή, wrath, the abandonment (cf. παρέδωκεν, Rom. 1.24) of society by God, to 'stew in its own juice', to reap the retribution of its own misdeeds."

Paulus das Nomen 'Leben' nur als Bezeichnung des erhofften oder auch erfahrenen religiösen Heiles 'in Christo' kennt."¹

In other words, death and life were, for Paul, first of all eschatological realities. As Nygren in his Commentary on Romans points out:

Paul thinks in terms of aeons. Two realms stand over against each other. One is the dominion of death over all that is human, the age of Adam. The other is the dominion of life, the age of Christ.²

For one's existence to be confined within the context of "this present evil age" (Gal. 1:4) is to be under the killing power of sin — to be dead. Christ "gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age" in order that we might have the life of the new aeon. The new aeon is made present to the experience of believers by the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ (Rom. 8:9); and they are caused to live by the Spirit (Gal. 5:25).³ The believer comes alive in the Spirit because the Spirit liberates him from the power of sin in the flesh, which dominates the "present evil age".⁴ "But you are not in the flesh, you are in the Spirit", writes the Apostle to those called to be saints in Rome, "if the Spirit of God really dwells in you" (Rom. 8:9).

¹Ernst Lohmeyer, Probleme Paulinischer Theologie, p. 128.

²Op. cit., p. 20.

³Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29, "He who believes on [Christ] has with Him been set free from the power of death. He who believes on Him has through Him been received into the realm of life. He already in this life shares in the new aeon, and he shall live in it when it is made perfect in glory."

⁴Cf. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 126, "Der Tod, der in AT fast immer wie ein Fremdling in die Kreise des Lebens einbricht, wie eine Gespensterhand aus einer anderen Welt sie zerstörend, ist hier in einen deutlichen Zusam-

Believers are already a part of the new age, citizens of the eternal kingdom of Christ (Phil. 3:20; Col. 3:1 ff.). And although the substance of the glory of the coming age is still in the future, the "firstfruits" (Rom. 8:23) are really possessed by those who are "in Christ", because they have the Spirit in a fulness which belongs only to the Messianic age. To have the Spirit, according to Paul, is to have the "first instalment" ($\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\beta\acute{\omega}\nu$) of that coming glory (2 Cor. 1:22, 5:5, Eph. 1:14). To have part — even when it is still only a very small part — in that coming glory is to have life in a sense which makes the existence which is determined solely by the present age to be seen for what it really is: death.

It is of the greatest importance for our understanding of Paul's theology of death to realize that when Paul refers to death in other than the ordinary sense he is not using metaphor. He does not use this fateful term merely to give his language 'punch'. He expected, of course, that his readers would use the ordinary meaning to help them to understand his other uses of the term "death", but that does not mean that he regarded death as really death in one sense but only something like death in other senses. If we would understand Paul, we must try to interpret his language as realistically in one case as in another. The key is Paul's eschatological outlook on life. When he appears to be speaking of death metaphorically he is actually speaking eschatologically.

For Paul, 'ordinary' reality is actually not nearly as real or as

menhang gestellt, der ihm gleichsam die Selbständigkeit seines Wirkens nimmt. Er ist, wie das angeführte Wort zeigt, derart mit dem 'Fleisch' verbunden, dass er das notwendige Ziel und Ergebnis dessen Trachtens und Denkens ist."

substantial as eschatological reality. The presently visible realities, which are so tangible and seem so very important, are only πρόσκαιρος (temporary, only for the present time); but the hoped for things which are now invisible are eternal (2 Cor. 4:18). The things which in the present age normally absorb our attention should, according to Paul, be treated as if they hardly exist: 2 Cor. 4:18

I mean, brethren, the appointed time has grown very short; from now on, let those who have wives live as though they had none, and those who mourn as though they were not mourning, and those who rejoice as though they were not rejoicing, and those who buy as though they had no goods, and those who deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it. For the form of this world is passing away. (1 Cor. 7:29 ff.)

"Those who mourn as though they were not mourning." There was a time when, despite his Pharisaic hope in the resurrection, Paul shared to a great degree the attitude of the Old Testament saint. Death in the ordinary sense was regarded as a thing of such fateful and doleful consequence as to merit great mourning. For Paul the believer in Christ, however, death in this usual sense, though still a significant event, was entirely overshadowed by two events of vastly greater significance for a person's destiny: his union with Christ in the present and the coming παρουσία of Christ. In order to express what these fateful realities meant to him, Paul frequently had recourse to terms which were ordinarily used in a non-eschatological sense. The Old Testament saint thought of life as the great gift of God which makes possible fellowship with him in this world of his, and especially in his temple. He thought of death (or Sheol) as that which for ever cuts him off from fellowship

with his God.¹ Such understanding of life and death came readily to Paul's hand to express the realities which Christ had made known to him.

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Nothing is more important to an understanding of Paul, including his choice of language, than to take adequately into account the extraordinary circumstances of his conversion. Paul was called to faith in Christ, appointed apostle to the Gentiles, and given his gospel "through a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:12). This is the claim which he most solemnly (Gal. 1:20, cf. 1:8 f.) makes; and to accept the truth of this claim gives the best key to an understanding of his subsequent career as missionary and teacher. Paul believed that God had set him apart before he was born for a mission of extraordinary consequence, and that for that reason God "was pleased to reveal his Son to me" (Gal. 1:15 f.).² Jesus Christ appeared to Paul in the blinding splendor of his "body of glory" (Phil. 3:21) and communicated with him in such a way that Paul knew from that time on that Jesus died for him and for all men that they might share his present glory. The quality of his missionary zeal provides us with a gauge of the intensity and clarity of this conviction.

¹Cf. A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. by Alan Richardson, London, 1950, p. 60, "It is clear from a perusal of the Psalter that the distress which the approach of death caused to the genuinely religious consciousness of men in the O.T. resulted not from the fear of extinction, but from the expectation that all intercourse with God would be at an end."

²Cf. J. Munk, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, trans. by F. Clarke, London, 1959, p. 66, "He is the man who has been called, who has a unique task to perform in the last great drama of salvation. It is the apostolic task, that of the emissary who is to go to the Gentiles to preach the Gospel, so that this hindrance to the coming of Christ and final salvation shall be cleared away."

We are to understand Paul's eschatological language in the light of this experience. When Paul meditated on this experience he concluded that in beholding the Christ of glory he was a witness of the fact that the Messianic age had begun in the person of Jesus — begun in a way as different as it was more wonderful than anything he or his teachers had ever expected. A contemporary of his, who had been crucified because he had claimed Messiahship, had been resurrected in a way which made palid the apocalyptic hopes of his age. Having witnessed the glory in which Jesus Christ now lives Paul was blinded, but having received his sight at the touch of a man of faith he saw the present world (or age) through new and understanding eyes.

Paul now understood in a new way what the Scripture intends when it says that God warned Adam: "In the day you eat of it you shall die." Now Paul realized with a new clarity and directness how Adam and his whole world had changed from that day.¹ The glory of God's presence had faded, and death took the place of life. If life is the gift which makes possible fellowship with God in a world in which he walks (Gen. 3:8) and death that which cuts one off from the possibility of knowing that fellowship, then Adam died on that day. Paul understood this because he now perceived the darkness of Adam's world and the death of Adam's race in

¹This does not mean that Paul was entirely original in his use of the Adam story. Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, London, 1948, p. 44, "We have seen that the deepened sense of sin which the experience of the Exile produced within the nation of Israel eventually led to speculation on the story of the Fall in Gen. 3, and so it is that whereas the idea of the Fall played little, if any part in the Old Testament, a marked feature of Judaism in the centuries preceding the Christian era was the growth of speculation about the Fall and about the First Man, Adam." Paul's rabbinical studies had probably prepared him for making special use of Gen. 1-3.

the light of the living Christ and his new world of light and life.¹

Jesus is now alive in all the fulness of the Scriptural meaning of that term. He is in his own person the substance of God's promised kingdom, fulfilled and being fulfilled. He is the new creation! He is the second Adam! In the person of Jesus Christ, God-appointed head of a new race, the creation has been recreated. He is the firstfruits, and through the activity of his life-giving Spirit the new creation is being extended. Two aeons co-exist, but the old is passing away and will cease altogether at Christ's coming. Then the new creation will encompass all.

The reason why death in the ordinary sense had come to have greatly diminished significance for Paul is that he believed Christ's death to be representative. It was the death of the Second Adam. The death which Christ died is the same death which grips the whole present aeon, and his death included all the forms, including the most ultimate, which death takes for the sons of Adam. Having experienced death in extremis, he has fulfilled death's claims upon all. "We are convinced", writes Paul, "that one has died for all; therefore all have died" (2 Cor. 5:14).

¹Cf. M. Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, Göttingen, 1909, p. 65, "Christus lebt jetzt schon in dieser Herrlichkeit (Rm. 6:4; 2. Kor. 4:6); sie ist also im Himmel und wird dort einstweilen für die Gläubigen aufbewahrt (Rm. 5:2, 8:17 f.). Mit dem zukünftigen Äon wird sie ihnen zuteil werden. Aus diesem Gedankengang erklärt sich erstens, dass die Spannung, mit der man dem künftigen Äon entgegensieht, sich im Christentum bedeutend verstärkt hat; wirkt dieser Äon doch schon unter den Christen. Sodann aber verstehen wir daraus die leise Verschiebung des Äonengedankens aus dem Zeitlichen ins Räumliche." The last sentence explains why it is possible, and necessary, to refer to the substance of the glory in which Jesus lives both in terms of time (the new or coming age) and in terms of space (the world or realm of glory).

For those who are "in Christ" death has already taken place. And, since Christ now lives in the new aeon, they have, in him, passed out of the old aeon of death into the new aeon of life. True, most of the fruits of this great translation still lie in the future. We were saved $\tau\eta\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon$ (Rom. 8:24). Our death and resurrection have already occurred, but the glory of this reality is waiting to be revealed at Christ's coming:

If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated at the right hand of God. Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth. For you have died, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ who is our life appears, then you also will appear with him in glory. (Col. 3:1-4)

Since he has already died and risen again in Christ, death has lost much of its sting for the believer. Death in the ordinary sense now becomes "sleep" (1 Thess. 4:14), a quiet waiting for the full fruits. It is in such eschatological terms that we must undertake to understand Paul's language about death.

For instance, when Paul urges his readers to "yield yourselves to God as men who have been brought from death to life" (Rom. 6:13), he means that since they have in Christ already become a part of the coming $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon$ of God's kingdom they should by all means act as if they belonged to the true God and not to "the god of this $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon$ " (2 Cor. 4:4). When he writes, "If we live by the Spirit, let us walk by the Spirit" (Gal. 5:25), he is again appealing for a kind of living which is consistent with eschatological reality. The man in Christ is alive from the dead because he has the Spirit in that fulness which belongs only

to the Messianic age (cf. Joel 2:28 ff.; Acts 2). To possess — or rather, to be possessed by — the Spirit in this sense is to be alive with the life of that realm of glory in which Christ lives in eternal fellowship with the Father. The Spirit is the "first instalment" of that coming $\alpha\iota\omega\nu$.

Paul does not, of course, deny that all men are now, in this world, alive in a lower sense — in a sense which really has no substantial reality. It is not real life, the life of the ages of ages, but life which is in death and unto death. The life of this age is life $\kappa\alpha\tauὰ σὰρκα$, and life according to the flesh is under the dominion of sin and death. The man in Christ is a "new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come" (2 Cor. 5:17). Paul here uses the word "creation" as soberly as if he were talking about the beginning of the world.¹ The believer is really a new being, having a new life in the Spirit. Of course, to the mind unilluminated by faith this language is absurd. But then, apart from faith any kind of creation is inconceivable.

However, the believer belongs to two realms. He is still in the flesh and must consciously set himself to "walk by the Spirit" so that he will not "gratify the desires of the flesh" (Gal. 5:16). He has indeed died with Christ, and he is indeed now alive to God with the life which is eternal because Christ is living in him, but it is also true that he still lives in the flesh (Gal. 2:19 f.). His life in the flesh must be a life lived by faith. Being still in a body of flesh, he is "away from the Lord" and must therefore "walk by faith, not by sight" (2 Cor. 5:6 f.). He is spiritually alive because of a new righteousness which is his in Christ;

¹Cf. Paul's use of "Let there be light" (Gen. 1:3) in 2 Cor. 4:6.

but being still in a body of flesh, where sin still maintains its hold, he is as mortal as one who rejects Christ (Rom. 8:10). The eschatological workings of the kingdom of God have only begun. When they are complete the believer's body will also be fully possessed by the Spirit, made alive with the life that is eternal (Rom. 8:11). Sin will have been routed from the creation completely and sinful flesh will cease to be. Whereas the believer's body is now *σάρκινος*, it will then be *πνευματικός* (1 Cor. 15:44). Only then will the tension be overcome under which the believer lives — the tension he experiences as one who is both of the flesh (Gal. 5:17) and of the Spirit, both of "the present evil age" (Gal. 1:4) and of "that which is to come" (Eph. 1:21). That will be when Christ will have put "all his enemies under his feet" — the last being death — and delivered his perfected kingdom to the Father. Then God will be "everything to every one" (1 Cor. 15:24 ff.), and the struggle with sin will be over.

Such are the terms in which Paul regarded death as evil. Death is an "enemy" of Christ and his kingdom. Death is evil because it actively opposes the life of glory which Christ in the gospel is offering to a world which is under the sign of death. Death is evil because it shuts men out from the life which now gives peace with God and will one day give a share in the very glory of God (Rom. 5:1 f.), an "eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison" (2 Cor. 4:17). So, in Paul's thinking, death becomes as much more evil, compared with the thought of ancient Israel, as the life of glory is better than the life of this present earth.

The way in which the power of death shuts men out from the life of glory is by deadening their spiritual sensibilities and so keeping them

from seeing and accepting the "gospel of the glory of Christ".

And even if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing. In their case the god of this world (αἰών) has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the likeness of God. (2 Cor. 4:3 f.)

The gospel is effectively obscured to those who are perishing.

The ones who are perishing (ἀπολλύμενοι) are those on whom death has an uncompromised hold. The verb ἀπολλύναι is used a number of times by Paul in a very solemn way to express the broad and ultimate effects of death. For example: "If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins. Then those also who have died (κοιμηθέντες) in Christ have perished" (1 Cor. 15:17 f.). That is, if it is not true that death has met its Conqueror, then the power of sin has had its way to the uttermost with those who, Paul believed, were only 'asleep' waiting securely for full redemption. Sin has succeeded in working that death which is final destruction. It is in order that such a death should be the final lot of men that "the god of this world" is blinding the minds of men.

What is the meaning of this extraordinary expression: "the god of this αἰών"? The usual interpretation is that Paul is referring to Satan, though there have been commentators who, fearful of accepting this meaning, have tried to interpret the passage as if it were God who blinds men's minds.¹ M. Dibelius has argued² that though it is valid to take the passage as refer-

¹Cf. A. Plummer, Second Corinthians (ICC), Edinburgh, 1915, p. 115: Augustine "and others seem to be aware that this is questionable exegesis; but they are of the opinion that, as Atto of Vercelli expresses it, because to interpret the words as meaning Satan brings us near to error, we must understand them as meaning God Himself."

²Geisterwelt, p. 63 ff. and 114 ff.

ring to Satan, it is better to understand it as meaning *θάνατος*. Paul, according to Dibelius, is here not in the realm of Jewish concepts but is thinking in the more Hellenistic terms of the world's evanescence; and it is for this reason that we are to understand that it is *θάνατος* rather than Satan who is "the god of this age". If this is what the passage means then we have in it a very clear expression of Paul's attitude towards death as supreme evil. However, for reasons which will be given in chapter four, this suggestion of Dibelius must be rejected. But, since Paul identified sin and death so closely, it makes little difference for the purposes of our present discussion. The power of death is sin (1 Cor. 15:56); the work of Satan, therefore, is to encompass the destruction (death) of God's creation.¹ The "god of this age" is, whether we read *θάνατος* or Satan, that power of death which seeks to keep men from knowing the life of glory.

That the one who wrote, "For us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things" (1 Cor. 8:6), should also speak of another "god of this age" shows how radically Paul thought of this present age as being alienated from God. Since to be alienated from God is death, this is an age of death. The "world rulers of this darkness" (Eph. 6:12) are diligent to keep men from sharing "in the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. 1:12).

Another passage in Second Corinthians which helps to confirm that Paul was thinking primarily of death when he wrote of the power which

¹Paul elsewhere pictures Satan as always ready to cause "destruction of the flesh" (1 Cor. 5:5) and as the one who causes illness (2 Cor. 12:7).

blinds the minds of unbelievers — and a passage which gives further witness to Paul's thinking about the dread power of death which opposes eternal life — is:

But thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumph, and through us spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of him everywhere. For we are the aroma of Christ to God among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing, to one a fragrance of death to death, to the other a fragrance from life to life. (2 Cor. 2:14 ff.)¹

Here it is perfectly plain that, in Paul's terminology, death stands for a destruction far worse than death in the ordinary sense and life stands for transcendent salvation.

This is a joyous outburst, expressing the exultation Paul felt at the news brought by Titus from Corinth. The gospel as proclaimed by Paul had won another triumph. But he is not so full of joy at the thought of men turning to the truth that he fails to set beside it the ugly fact that wherever the gospel is brought there is violent opposition to it. Men blaspheme the holy things of God. The gospel is like a fragrance which brings life to some but death to others. We should resist the suggestion that perhaps ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον is a rhetorical expression, the two prepositional phrases of which do not carry distinct meanings.² It is

¹The ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις here (v. 15) is the identical expression of 4:3, which supports the view that although Paul does not speak specifically of death and life in the passage just discussed he is really dealing with these two eschatological realities.

²A. Plummer, op. cit., pp. 71 f., "It may be doubted whether the double ἐκ...εἰς ought to be pressed and rigidly interpreted. Perhaps nothing more is meant than continuous succession as when we say 'from day to day', 'from strength to strength'." Plummer goes on, however, to say, "Progress from one evil condition to another is what is meant, movement from bad to worse."

not characteristic of Paul to use language so loosely. He may well mean that unbelievers reject the gospel from a condition of spiritual blindness and in doing so are given over into death's grip in an even fuller sense. Through blinding men and causing them to reject God's grace, death's hold becomes even more binding. Out of a victory for death in causing the unbeliever to oppose God there results a more ultimate and terrible degree of death's dominion. The opposite is true for the believer. He believes because the Spirit gives the kind of life which sets him free to respond to the gospel of Christ, and the end is eternal life.

It will be well to consider one more passage which exhibits Paul's attitude towards death as evil:

I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us. For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God; for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of him who subjected it in hope; because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God. We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies. (Rom. 8:18-23)

There is a readiness at the present time to interpret New Testament eschatology as mythology which carries existential insights. If the two passages from Second Corinthians which we have been discussing can be used in this way with a certain persuasiveness, this from Romans 8 provides greater difficulties. Though 'mythology' is here aplenty, and much meaning for the existential moment may be found, these words of Paul cannot be forced to say that the only thing of significance is that man

should face the issues of life with resoluteness. The Apostle is here including the whole creation (cf. Col. 1:20) in his contemplation of the contrast between the horror of death and the glory of the coming age.¹

Again, we must turn to the Genesis accounts of the creation and the Fall in order to understand Paul. There we are told that man was created to be a lordly being. He was made in the image of God and given dominion over the earth and all of its creatures. When man was cut off from the Creator by sin, it was not only he who was affected. The whole creation suffered the sentence of death. The creation was "subjected" by the Creator under a "bondage to decay (*φθορά*)". He subjected it, however, "in hope" of the coming recreation of all things which his grace would eventually achieve. This will be achieved when God's Son as the Second Adam succeeds in subduing all the enemy powers which enslaved the world when Adam, by his rebellion, admitted the power of sin into the world (cf. 1 Cor. 15:21-26). Then "the last enemy" will be destroyed and all those who are sons of God by union with the Second Adam will be free from all that enslavement of which death is the sign and substance. It will be the *ἐλευθερία τῆς δόξης*: the kind of freedom which is to be found only in the realm or aeon of glory.

Paul pictures the whole creation eagerly looking forward to the Parousia of Christ, when the sons of God, now in the flesh unrecognizable as such, will be given their portion in the realm of light (Col. 1:12). Then the sub-human order, which was subjected along with man to the destructive powers of darkness, will share in the new freedom which is given to the new

¹See pp. 36 ff.

race of men in Christ, the Second Adam.¹ It would appear that Paul was depressed and tortured by the same thing as was the writer of Isaiah 11:6-9 -- the kill-and-be-killed rule which dominates both the human and animal orders; and he, with Isaiah, longed for the peace of the kingdom of God.

The misery of creation's enslavement was summed up for Paul in the word $\phi\thetaορ\acute{\alpha}$ (v. 21). This word can be translated as meaning ruin, destruction, dissolution, deterioration, corruption. It can refer to the state of being perishable, or to destruction by abortion, or to the seduction of a maiden, or to religious and moral depravity.² This word suggests what Paul's feelings were as he looked at the condition of the human and other species as they exist on the earth in "the present evil age". It expresses how evil death appeared to him. He regarded death, as it holds the earth in its grip, as an intolerable "bondage to $\phi\thetaορ\acute{\alpha}$ ".

Those who have "the first fruits of the Spirit" and an invincible hope are not spared. Their bodies are not yet emancipated from the bond-

¹Cf. Mark 1:13. Here Mark is probably reflecting the same conception. The animals gather about the One who in his struggle with Satan is striving to win liberation for them as well as men. They dimly sense that this is the Second Adam, who will liberate them from the curse brought upon them by the first Adam. Cf. E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, trans. by J. Marsh, London, 1955, p. 73, "The wild beasts surrounded him who was Satan's conqueror, the king of Paradise incognito, the future restorer of that peace which had been lost to the whole creation (Mark 1:13; cf. Test N. 8)." Cf. also G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, Oxford, 1956, p. 70, "Mark adds that 'he was with the wild beasts' -- a delicate way of indicating that the problem of evil with which Jesus came to wrestle is not confined to human affairs."

²Cf. Arndt and Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Christian Literature, London, 1957.

age to *φθορά*. That emancipation will come only when the whole creation is redeemed together. The believer has an invincible hope, but the very brightness of the hope makes the present bondage the more intolerable and causes him to "groan inwardly" as he waits for liberation.

CHAPTER THREE

Death as Unnatural

"Sin came into the world through one man and death through sin" (Rom. 5:12). This statement seems to express with perfect clarity the view that before the Fall there was no death in the world. Paradise was free of mortality. Therefore, death is an interloper; it is not natural to the world God created. Everything we have noted about Paul's teaching thus far is consistent with this view. Death is the result of sin; and sin, of course, played no part in the world as first created. Death is an evil, and so it could have no part in the original creation; because after God had finished creation he "saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good" (Gen. 1:31).

But this makes things very difficult for the interpreter of Paul, and most interpreters of Paul have felt required to conclude that Paul must not be understood to say that all death is unnatural. J. A. T. Robinson, for instance, while discussing Paul's view of "the condition of man and its causes which the Incarnation came to reverse" says: "For animals to die is natural; for men to die is unnatural. It is punishment for sin (Rom. 1.32, etc.)."¹ Is this really Paul's view? If so, then our interpretation of Romans 8:19 ff. is quite mistaken; because we understood it to say that the non-human creation is eagerly awaiting an emancipation from death along with man, even as death came upon the whole creation because of man's sin. If only man's death is unnatural, what does this mean for the nature of man's death? Man is unquestionably a continu-

¹J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, a Study in Pauline Theology, London, 1957, p. 34.

ous part of creation, organically speaking; and so if death is natural for animals it must also, organically speaking, be natural for man. Therefore, death is unnatural for man only in a special spiritual sense. That is, if man had not sinned he would still die like the animals, but it would not be the bitter thing that it is. It is only to man the sinner that death takes on the character of judgment. Sin is the sting of death in the sense that it is man's separation from God which gives his going to death an unnatural bitterness. As we shall see, this is just the position which some theologians take -- and defend it as biblical, even Pauline.

A major cause, surely, for the difficulty which interpreters of Paul experience in agreeing that he held the view that death in all its forms in man and throughout creation is the work of sin's corruption and therefore unnatural is that such a view appears to them to be against reason. However, since reason cannot be the final judge in matters of religious doctrine for one who bases his theology on revelation, the denial that Paul held a thoroughgoing view of death is normally justified by arguing that no place can be found for it in a systematic presentation of the Bible's total message and by pointing to passages in the Pauline epistles which appear to reject such a view. Since the purpose of our study is to discover what Paul's theology of death was rather than to provide a reasoned defence of it or to fit it into a system of dogmatic theology, the major purpose of this chapter is to deal with Pauline statements which appear inconsistent with a thoroughgoing view of death as unnatural. It will be desirable, however, first to attempt to make clear what the problems are which reason and systematic theology raise with the hope that this will

enable us to deal with Paul's statements in a more objective and understanding manner.

First, it must be admitted that there does seem to be more than a little absurdity in the view that all death is unnatural. As we observe the workings of our world, mortality appears to be a part of the very structure of the world and not a corruption of it. For instance, the structure of all organisms gives great importance to reproduction, and this implies a succession of generations. A succession of generations implies death. Furthermore, it is impossible for organisms above the plant level to live by consuming inorganic material. Most organisms live by eating other organisms, plant or animal; and this means death. Even in Isaiah's vision (Is. 11:6 ff.) of a coming time when a pact of peace involving both the human and animal realms will prevail, the flesh-eating animals will eat plants; and Gen. 1:30 pictures it as a part of the original creation that God gave to beasts, birds, and creeping things "every green plant for food". This shows how impossible it is to conceive of a paradise in earthly terms without mortality of some kind. The question of mortality in plants must be raised for two reasons: first, there is no clear dividing line between animal and plant life and, second, there is no essential difference for the sensitive observer between the demeaning of an animal by crushing out its life that it might serve as food and the same demeaning of the life of a plant. If concern over the veil of $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ which covers the earth is not to be limited to man, there can be no proper stopping place until all of life is included. And how can a distinction be made between mortality in man and that of the world of

which he is so clearly a continuous part? To the Hebrew poets (eg. Ps. 90:5 f.) the evanescence of plant life spoke eloquently of the briefness of human life. Can a person appreciate a beautiful flower without a sense of sadness over the briefness of its beauty? But the blossom is itself a part of the plant's structure of reproduction which would be unnecessary if there were no mortality, showing how basic a presupposition death is in the structure of life.

Is it possible to conceive of a world bearing any connection with the one of which we are now a part in which there would be no death? Is death in our world something added by way of distortion? Is it not rather an inherent part of it? If mortality was unknown before the Fall, then the effect of Adam's rebellion must have been to alter the very structure of creation so radically that we can as little imagine what life was like before the Fall as we can imagine what life in the eternal kingdom of God will be. That suggests, then, that life in the world to come is to be not so much a new creation resulting from God's new work in Christ as the restoration of an inconceivably wonderful world which existed before the Fall. It hardly seems likely that Paul regarded Christ's work as limited to a restoration -- which brings us to theological considerations.

Christian theologians have normally asserted that death must have been always to some degree natural. They have taught that if not for man then for the whole sub-human order death is an inherent part of God's purpose for his creation. Augustine held that it was sin which brought death upon man, God having so made men that "if they discharged the obligations of obedience, an angelic immortality and a blessed eternity might

ensue, without the intervention of death."¹ Of the other creatures he taught that "these creatures received, at their Creator's will, an existence fitting them, by passing away and giving place to others to secure that lowest form of beauty, the beauty of the seasons, which in its own place is a requisite part of this world....Some perish to make way for others that are born in their room...this is the appointed order of things transitory."²

Aquinas took the same position, teaching that before the Fall "man's body was indissoluble, not by reason of any intrinsic vigor⁴ of immortality, but by reason of a supernatural force given by God to the soul, whereby it was enabled to preserve the body from all corruption so long as it itself remained subject to God."³ Man could have continued without death if he partook again and again of the tree of life or if "transferred to a spiritual life."⁴ But in regard to the animals: "In the opinion of some, those animals which are now fierce and kill others would, in that state, have been tame, not only in regard to man, but also in regard to other animals. But this is quite unreasonable. For the nature of animals was not changed by man's sin, as if those whose nature now it is to devour the flesh of others, as the lion and the falcon, would then have lived on herbs."⁵ In this last it is clear that reason is more influential than exegesis.

¹Augustine, The City of God, Bk. 13, Par. 1.

²Ibid., Bk. 12, Par. 4.

³Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Q. 97, Art. 2.

⁴Ibid., Q. 97, Art. 4.

⁵Ibid., Q. 96, Art. 1.

Luther objected strongly to the acceptance of death as a part of the natural human lot. Death, he insisted is the result of sin. Commenting on Genesis 2:17 he said: "Therefore if Adam had obeyed this command, he would not have died; for death came through sin." However, the death of animals is according to a law of nature. On Psalm 90:2 he had this to say: "The death of human beings is, therefore, not like the death of animals. These die because of a law of nature....Originally death was not a part of his [man's] nature." In his early Lectures on Romans he taught that the $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of Romans 8:20 refers only to man.

Calvin taught that the sin of Adam seriously perverted the whole order of nature, including the life of the creatures.

As the spiritual life of Adam consisted in a union to his Maker, so an alienation from him was the death of his soul. Nor is it surprising that he ruined his posterity by his defection, which has perverted the whole order of nature in heaven and earth. "The creatures groan," says Paul, "being made subject to vanity, not willingly." If the cause be inquired, it is undoubtedly that they sustain part of the punishment due to the demerits of man, for whose use they were created.¹

Commenting on Romans 8:19 ff. he noted that some had speculated on the possibility that animals will one day share the immortality of the redeemed, but he declined to enter upon such speculation.

If it is objected that the issue of the mortality of the sub-human creation is being overemphasized and that the Paul who wrote, "Is it for oxen that God is concerned?" (1 Cor. 9:9), could hardly have made much of an issue of it, the answer is that this matter goes to the root of the question as to whether or not Paul thought of death as the effect of a

¹ John Calvin, Institutes, Bk. 2, Chap. 1, Par. 5.

profound change wrought on God's creation by the power of sin. Certainly Paul's concern was overwhelmingly concern for the destiny of humans, but he was sure that the fate of humans is bound up with that of the world of which they are a part. That Paul really did see a kinship between man under the dominion of death and the creation under the same dominion is clearly suggested by the fact that references to the travail of "the whole creation", the inward anguish of believers, and the coming "redemption of our bodies" are wrought together into one sentence (Rom. 8:22 f.). The problem of human mortality is part and parcel of the predicament in which the whole creation finds itself.

In our century the Adam story is commonly treated as a purely mythical expression of timeless truths about man's relationship to God. The Fall is taken to be not an event of the past which changed the nature of the cosmos but as a thing entirely internal to man's spiritual experience. When this approach is accepted as valid the old question as to whether the sin of an ancestor caused the mortality of humans only or of all creatures is eliminated. In fact, it has, for many, eliminated all question of mortality being the result of sin. Men are as naturally mortal as animals: this is a law of nature. But there is still room to treat man's death as unnatural when considered in a purely religious context, apart from considerations of natural science.

Paul Althaus, for example, insists that theology has nothing to do with an original creation but rather with interpreting life as it confronts us now.¹ He rejects as "gnostic" the ascription of the present form

¹Paul Althaus, Die Christliche Wahrheit, 4th ed., Gutersloh, 1953, pp. 409 ff.

of our world to a fall into sin. He treats of death in a two-fold way: as, first, a law of creation which is in the original purpose of God and, second, as a punishment for sin. Death as a law of creation has a positive value in that it provides opportunity for death as the supreme act of loving self-sacrifice. However, the fact of sin contradicts this in that our lives are characterized by self-assertion rather than love. So to the sinner death is sensed as God's judgment on his sinfulness. Of our sinful "Menschentum" he writes: "Es wird zunichte, weil es der Nichtigkeit verfallen ist. Es geht zu Ende, weil es schon in sich nicht mehr lebendig, sondern 'tot' ist."¹ Sin is the death of what a man ought to be before God, and the bodily death of a sinner expresses what he has already become before God. Though mortality is a law of all creaturely life and though mortality was meant by God to be the summons and the circumstance for a fulfilment of service to him in faith and love, to the sinner without faith and love dying is death in its fullest sense, the "no" of God. The death of sinners is "Sterben im Sterben", and this kind of death first appeared in the world with human sin. This is, says Althaus, the meaning which we should find in Paul's assertion (Rom. 5:12) that through sin death entered the world. Althaus denies that Paul in Rom. 5:12, 6:23, and 1 Cor. 15:56 teaches that bodily death is the metaphysical effect of the Fall, since in 1 Cor. 15:45 he appears to say that the first man was created mortal. Therefore, the life which the believer has because he has the Spirit is a new manhood; it is a brand new creation and in no way a restoration to something of the past. What about other Pauline passages which seem to

¹Ibid., p. 414.

disagree with this? Well, either we suppose that Paul took death in these places "im prägnanten Sinne des göttlichen Nein zum Menschen und unterscheide ihn von dem blossen Enden des Lebens als das Sterben im Sterben" or, as is also possible, that Paul had conflicting views of death which he did not reconcile intellectually.¹ In any case, Paul viewed death in a double light: as judgment and as creation. Althaus concludes that Rom. 5:12 definitely must not be exploited in the interests of "einer gnostischen Theorie" which teaches that death is to be attributed to an historical Fall of Adam. "Der Satz der altprotestantischen Dogmatik, dass der Mensch im Urstande die Eigenschaft der Unsterblichkeit gehabt habe, is nicht schriftgemäss."² "Leiden und Tod sind nicht Gottes letzter, aber sein erster Wille."³ God's creation has from the beginning awaited the second creation -- a new creation -- which means the kingdom of God.

Althaus notes, however, that in recent decades the "gnostic speculation" which teaches that creation was altered by the Fall has enjoyed something of a mode. In this connection, he asserts that "ähnlich Gedanken" are to be found in K. Barth, and he mentions the second edition

¹Ibid., pp. 415 f.

²Ibid., p. 416. Cf. C. H. Dodd, Romans (MNTC), London, 1932, pp. 80 f. Commenting on Rom. 5:12-21, Dodd writes: "In attributing the prevalence of sin among men to Adam's transgression, then, Paul is following the rabbinic doctrine in which he was brought up. It was, further, part of that doctrine that death came in by sin. It is not at all clear that the story of the Fall as we have it in Gen. 3 means that Adam was immortal, but lost his immortality as the penalty of disobedience. But it was so understood by Jewish thinkers of Paul's time."

³Ibid., p. 419.

of Der Römerbrief. A more recent and more extensive expression of Barth's thinking on death is to be found in his Church Dogmatics as a part of his treatment of the doctrine of creation.¹ One reason why Barth's discussion deserves consideration in a study devoted to Biblical theology is that it contains very generous exegetical sections.

Barth's views on death are found to be distinctly dialectical. He makes some very categorical statements to the effect that the Bible in both Testaments teaches the unnaturalness of death, and this side of the case receives the emphasis; but he does not feel that the matter can be left there. Death must also, he concludes, be regarded as natural if some of his earlier statements about the creation are to remain valid. So Barth concludes that death is to be viewed as both natural and unnatural.

At the beginning of the whole volume on "The Creature" he notes that "in practice the doctrine of creation means anthropology — the doctrine of man" and indicates that his consideration of the subject will be limited largely to man. Man is "the central object of the theological doctrine of creation", but this does not mean, however, that the fact should be ignored that "the creature of God is the totality, the whole cosmos of the reality posited by Him and distinct from Him, in the plenitude of which man is only a component part."²

It has often been missed and has always had to be rediscovered that the Word of God in its ultimate and decisive form in the New Testament has a "cosmic" character to the extent that its message of salvation relates to the man who is rooted in the cosmos, who is lost and ruined with the cosmos, and who is

¹Barth, Church Dogmatics, III, 2, pp. 537-640.

²Ibid., pp. 3 f.

found and renewed by his Creator at the heart of the cosmos. In the present exposition we must not and will not be guilty of any failure to appreciate the significance of the cosmos, of any insulating of man from the realm of the non-human creation.¹

Furthermore, in the preface to the volume he grants that it is conceivable that, "in spite of the counter-arguments adduced, the limits of the term 'creature' may with the necessary boldness and sobriety be more widely drawn than I have dared attempt."

In his discussion of death as man's "ending time" Barth gives repeated and vigorous expression to the view that the Bible treats death as unnatural:

Of death as it actually meets us we certainly cannot say that it is an inherent part of human nature as God created it and as it is therefore good. There is no doubt whatever that it is something negative and evil....our standing under this sign is not something intrinsic to our human nature. For God did not create us to exist under this impending threat of being hewn down and cast into the fire.²

In the biblical demonstration of what has been said, we can first point only to the wholly negative character which the Old Testament gives to its picture of the nature and reality of death....Death...is the epitome of what is contrary to nature.³

But it is the New Testament which is most direct and explicit on the point that death is the sign of God's judgment, and therefore the supreme evil.⁴

Note that for Jesus even sickness is not a natural but an unnatural evil. It is an outbreak and effect of the demonic world, which, while it operates with divine permission, functions exclusively in opposition to God.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 599.

²Ibid., p. 597.

⁵Ibid., p. 599.

³Ibid., p. 598.

As man's eternal corruption, but also as its sign, death is not a part of man's nature as God created it. But it entered into the world through sin as an alien lord (Rom. 5:12, 14, 17; 1 Cor. 15:22).¹

It is obvious that the estimation of death as a purely natural phenomenon, or as a friendly or at least conceivably neutral fate, is not only conspicuous by its absence [in the N.T.], but basically alien. Death is the great mark of the unnatural state in which we exist. And it is this, not because of a chance fate, but because we exist under the thrall of the devil.²

[In the N. T.] the realm of the dead loses the last traces of creaturely naturalness which still cling to it in the Old Testament perspective.³

[In the Pauline epistles, man's] life is perverted, so perverted, and so devoid of glory in the sight of God, that death is the only reward it deserves.⁴

...death as an alien intruder, contrary to human nature as God created it.⁵

However, Barth draws back from simply accepting the very general teaching of Scripture, since this would seem to lead to the conclusion that "in his wrath...God created man for only a short span of life," making, therefore, "our life as such an unmitigated evil."⁶ Further investigation will show, says Barth, that what the Bible has to say about the unnaturalness of death is only "relative truth, and the way is opened for an answer which will turn out to be very different from that which seems to be forced on us from every side."⁷

Man was created finite and, therefore, his life has a limited span. The Bible usually equates this fact -- "the finitude of human existence

¹Ibid., p. 600.

⁴Ibid., p. 604.

⁷Ibid., p. 628.

²Ibid., p. 601.

⁵Ibid., p. 627.

³Ibid., p. 603.

⁶Ibid., p. 627.

in time" --- with death in "the harsher sense...as the sign of divine judgment." But consideration of the person and work of Christ shows us that we do not need to make this equation. His death "actually coincided with death in this negative sense" since his death was an atonement for the sins of others, but "since he was neither sinful nor guilty, the finitude of His life did not stand in advance and as such under this shadow. His human life might have ended in quite a different way."¹ We may conclude then that "the finitude of our temporal existence obviously does not necessarily imply that we stand under the wrath of God."² In fact, "we have to be finite, to be able to die, for the $\epsilon\phi' \alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma$ of the redemption accomplished in Christ to take effect for us....Finitude, then is not intrinsically negative and evil."³

This means that it also belongs to human nature and is determined and ordered by God's good creation and to that extent right and good, that man's being in time should be finite and man himself mortal....Death is not in itself the judgment. It is not in itself and as such the sign of God's judgment. It is so only de facto.⁴

In other words, death is a natural and good part of God's ordering of his creation. Sin, however, gives death its unnatural aspect, gives it the aspect of the $\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ⁵ or the "death in death."⁶ It is this un-

¹Ibid., p. 629.

²Ibid., p. 630.

³Ibid., p. 631.

⁴Ibid., p. 632.

⁵Cf. O. Cullman, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, London, 1958, p. 28, "We shall see that Death, in view of its conquest by Christ, has lost all its horror. But I still would not venture as does Karl Barth...(on the basis of the 'second death' distinguished in Apocalypse 21:8), to speak in the name of the New Testament of a 'natural death' (see 1 Corinthians 11:30!)."

⁶Barth, op. cit., p. 634.

natural aspect which is usually to be found in the Bible, and Barth admits that "at this final turn in our presentation we shall have to be content with a narrower compass of biblical demonstration."¹ However, "the naturalness of man's end in itself and as such" can also be found represented in the Bible. Some of the exegetical evidence which he finds for the naturalness of death is drawn from the Pauline letters and will be considered later in this chapter.

So it appears that, after all, Althaus and Barth agree that death must be treated as having two aspects: the natural and the unnatural. Man would still be mortal even if he did not sin, but because of sin "death in death" makes its appearance.

We have noted the views of several theologians, all of which suggest that there has been a traditional reluctance to accept a thoroughgoing view of death as unnatural. But whereas there was once a willingness to view man's death as wholly unnatural, there is now the tendency to view all mortality, in the primary sense, as natural, though the death of a sinner is also viewed as unnatural in a religious context.

How are we to explain this? Should we accept the conclusion that Paul used language about death which seems to teach that death is a completely alien thing to God's creation but that he actually held a double view? Or is it possible that theologians who want their teachings to be genuinely biblical nevertheless misread the biblical evidence? Is it possible that their exegesis is determined by presuppositions contrary to those of Paul and in order to achieve a theological construction less

¹Ibid., p. 633.

offensive to the contemporary mind than the one Paul actually held?

It is quite clear that Barth resists the answer "which seems to be forced on us from every side" far more from general theological considerations than from the requirements of exegetical evidence. It is greatly to be doubted if some, at least, of these considerations would be accepted by Paul as valid. Would he agree that if man's death is regarded as unnatural we must conclude that God therefore in his wrath created man for only a short span of life? Barth's reasoning appears to be based on the presupposition that there has been no radical change in the character of the world since its beginning. This agrees with a presupposition of the modern mind, but does it agree with Paul's? Barth says that man is mortal because of "the finitude of human existence in time." Would Paul agree to this, or would he attribute it rather to forces of darkness?

Althaus says that theology is not concerned with an original creation but with the here and now. Did Paul limit his theological concern in this way? Would he not rather say that the here and now can be understood only in the light of what man and his world once were and, even more, in the light of what we and it will soon be? This view of Althaus fits in nicely with the existentialist mood of our day,¹ but would it fit Paul's eschatological mood?

Is not the charge Althaus makes about "gnostic speculation" really a red herring? If one would defend Paul from the charge made by some theo-

¹This is not to say that Althaus is one of the existentialist theologians. See his The So-Called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus, trans. by D. Cairns, Edinburgh, 1959.

logians that he borrowed heavily from the mythology and doctrine of the gnostics, does that mean that one must deny any similarity between Paul's outlook and that of Gnosticism? Of course not. In every age opposing systems of thought which appealed widely have necessarily had much in common. Paul shared with the gnostics a certain "pessimism" concerning the world and a belief that man has fallen from a higher estate, but the form in which Paul held these views differed widely from the gnostic doctrines. One need only compare Paul's teaching about the body with that of the gnostics to understand how different his mind was from theirs, even while sharing certain emphases.¹

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But what do the specialists in Biblical theology have to say? At one point in Barth's discussion of death he writes:

Death is a reality. But how is this reality compatible with God? How can God be the good Creator of a human nature good in this respect too? Is not this intolerable and from the standpoint of biblical theology untenable?²

¹Perhaps it should be pointed out that almost all definite knowledge which we have about the teachings of Gnosticism -- from the criticisms of the church fathers and from gnostic writings -- is about a form of Gnosticism which existed long after the time of Paul. We know very little about the extent or the teachings of Gnosticism in the first century. The assumption that there must have been a first-century Gnosticism essentially like that of the second century has little evidence to defend it. (For a vigorous challenge to the scholarly methods of those New Testament scholars who depend heavily on this assumption see Johannes Munck, "The New Testament and Gnosticism", Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation, ed. Klassen and Snyder, New York, 1962, pp. 224 ff.) It is by no means impossible that Paul influenced second-century Gnosticism -- even that Gnosticism which had no distinctly Christian colouration -- far more than Paul's thinking owed to "gnostic" ideas which may have been current in the middle of the first century.

²Op. cit., p. 594.

The answer to the last question would appear to be that writers in the field of New Testament theology are not as ready as Barth to find in the New Testament -- and specifically in the Pauline letters -- a double view of human death. Some see Paul as teaching the unnaturalness of all death.

O. Cullmann, while vigorously insisting that the primitive Christian hope was for resurrection of the body rather than for the immortality of the soul, asserts:

The belief in the resurrection presupposes the Jewish connexion between death and sin. Death is not something natural, willed by God, as in the thought of the Greek philosophers; it is rather something unnatural, abnormal, opposed to God. The Genesis narrative teaches us that it came into the world only by the sin of man. Death is a curse, and the whole creation has become involved in the curse. The sin of man has necessitated the whole series of events which the Bible records and which we call the story of redemption. Death can be conquered only to the extent that sin is removed. For 'death is the wages of sin'. It is not only the Genesis narrative which speaks thus. Paul says the same thing (Romans 6:23), and this is the view of death held by the whole of primitive Christianity.¹

R. Bultmann, in a discussion of *θάνατος* as used in the New Testament,² notes that the conquest of death has a central place in the New Testament. Christ's work is pictured as consisting in the nullification of death, and salvation events are seen to reach their end in the overcoming of death. Death is the last enemy, and, Bultmann avers, the New Testament nowhere neutralizes the concept of death by interpreting it as an event of nature. Death is not thought of as an event of nature any more than is the resurrection.

¹O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, p. 28.

²T.W.N.T., III, pp. 13 ff.

E. Lohmeyer, in his study of the concepts of sin, flesh, and death in Paul's theology¹ finds that for Paul's thinking death exists because of flesh and flesh exists because of sin, and all three are metaphysical anti-divine powers which oppose God's will for man. He sees significance in the fact that while in the Old Testament also, eg. Is. 40:6 f., flesh is associated with death, the relationship is thought of in quite a different sense. In the Old Testament the relation of death to flesh is organic, and this results in a mood of melancholy over the briefness of life which often finds expression. But the relationship between flesh and death in Paul is never thought of as merely an organic thing, and as a result there is never any bewailing the briefness of life in the Pauline writings. Sadness over the briefness of life is absent in Paul because life, for which man was created, is right now an open possibility for man through the power of the Spirit. In this religious conception of life, death is the metaphysical opponent. In the strictest sense organic life exists only because it includes the possibility of life in this religious sense. Therefore death is, for Paul, never the natural and necessary end of life but a foreign power opposed to life.

Für diese Betrachtung ist also niemals der Tod das natürliche und notwendige Ende des Lebens, sondern eine fremde Gewalt aus einem Reich, das mit dem Gottesgedanken dieses Lebens nichts gemein hat. Dennoch ist es unbestreitbar, dass "alles Fleisch sterben wird".²

In the Genesis story of Adam, says Lohmeyer, are to be found almost all the motifs of Paul's teaching concerning sin and flesh, life and death. Adam's sinful deed changed the nature of his existence. As the medium of a

¹Probleme Paulinischer Theologie, pp. 75-156.

²Ibid., p. 132.

metaphysical power he brought death into being, and, therefore, all of nature and all of history have come to be determined by the two reference points: life and death. Death, therefore, is not a necessary phenomenon of organic life but its contradiction.

Man begreift nun, dass der Tod niemals als eine notwendige Erscheinung des organischen Lebens, sondern als sein genauer Widerspruch angesehen ist; denn alles Seiende ist niemals ohne die Gesichtspunkte möglich, welche jene Tat Adams bestimmen, sie sind gleichsam seine apriorischen Bedingungen.¹

Death is not an organic phenomenon of life but is the wages of sin. Wherever death is found it is Pauline to conclude that sin has been there first. This includes the death of all creatures, whose liberation therefore awaits the religious fulfilment of man.

Hier ist der Tod also nicht eine organische Erscheinung des Lebens, d. h. ein notwendiger biologischer Begriff, sondern seine biologische Gegebenheit ist der Ausdruck einer bestimmten religiösen Metaphysik. Daher ist diese metaphysische Deutung des Todes und jenes naturhafte Sein eines und dasselbe: "Der Tod ist der Sünde Sold". Beide sind miteinander gesetzt. Wo immer Tod gegeben ist, da ist auch, um es paulinisch zu sagen, die Sünde das Prius, wo immer Sünde ist, da folgt ihr auch der Tod. Darum ist auch das Schicksal aller Kreatur notwendig an die religiöse Erfüllung gebunden, die dem Menschen gesetzt ist; aus ihrer Vergänglichkeit sehnt sie sich mit unaussprechlichem Seufzen nach der herrlichen Freiheit der Kinder Gottes.²

Alan Richardson finds that the theology of the New Testament is this:

"The 'Fall' was a cosmic event, and was not simply the Fall of Man; the whole world order was thus brought into subjection to corruption and death."³

G. B. Caird says of Rom. 8:19-23 that Paul "reached out towards an empathy with the enslaved cosmos beyond anything that even the Stoics had

¹Ibid., p. 136.

²Ibid., p. 137 f.

³Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1958, p. 213.



contemplated." He notes that "some scholars have wished to simplify Paul's thought at this point by restricting the reference of the word $\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ to humankind" but argues that they are mistaken. "Only when man has entered upon his inheritance as son of God can the creation be delivered from its bondage to share in the glory of man's redeemed existence."¹ "The body of flesh is the token of man's solidarity in frailty and mortality with all his kind, and indeed with all creation....While he waits for the conquest of death, the Christian must still groan under the burden of mortality, but his groaning is shared by the whole creation, which watches with breathless expectation for the revealing of the sons of God."²

This by no means makes everything clear. It is not enough to quote authorities, especially when they disagree; and the approach of biblical theology is no more infallible than that of dogmatics. Whereas the dogmatic theologian may easily do injustice to the views of an individual Bible writer in the interests of a grand theological system, the biblical theologian who is attempting to exhibit the mind of a single writer may fail to do justice to all expressions of that writer in the interests of a tidy, unified picture of his thinking.

Part of our problem in determining what Paul thought probably arises from the fact that the aspect of a theological understanding of death with which we are dealing is in itself an unusually difficult one. Barth terms

¹G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp. 76 f.

²Ibid., p. 78.

the problem of "how far we have to understand the finitude of our allotted^t time, and death as the termination of human life, as a determination of the divinely created and therefore good nature of man" -- an "extraordinarily difficult question."¹ It is, and it may well be that Paul himself was not entirely of one mind on it, as Althaus suggests. Certainly his language is not always unambiguous.

Is it possible that if we could discuss the matter with Paul himself, and if he were willing to discuss it in terms familiar to us, he would agree that, of course, there is a sense in which death is a natural part of the created order? Occasionally his language does suggest this conclusion.

The fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians provides the clearest indication that Paul would so agree. When, in the course of his argument as found in that chapter, he reaches the point where he discusses the nature of the resurrection body (v. 35 ff.), he begins by using an analogy from plant life. If the new body of the plant is to be produced, the kernel of grain must die. Death is the normal and necessary prelude to the new life. This seems to indicate that Paul sees in human death a natural and necessary prelude to the resurrection -- that God planned it that way. Verse 36 is one of the passages which Barth offers as evidence that "the naturalness of man's end in itself and as such" can also be found represented in the Bible. He takes this verse to mean that man has by nature a "definitive end".²

¹Op. cit., p. 593.

²Ibid., p. 639.

In Paul's application of this parable about the kernel of grain it is not clear whether the "sowing" refers to burial or to birth. Commentators are to be found who prefer the latter, among them Calvin, R. H. Charles, and J. Moffatt.¹ Therefore, when Paul says, "It is sown in dishonour" (v. 43), the dishonour may refer to all parts of man's life or it may refer specifically to the corruption of corporeal death. But in either case the "sowing" appears to be the regular, natural prelude to the "raising". Then we read: "It is sown a physical body (σῶμα ψυχικόν), it is raised a spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν). If there is a physical body there is also a spiritual body (v. 44). In other words, there is a body animated on the level of the psyche or soul which dies and a subsequent body existing on the level of spirit which does not die. The progenitor of the psychical body is Adam (v. 45); and Paul shows where his idea and his language come from by using Gen. 2:7 as found in the LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. But this concerns Adam as he issued from the creative act of God and not the Adam after his fall into sin. Does this not imply, then, that Adam was created mortal?

Furthermore, Paul points out, Adam was "a man of dust" and we all received his image (v. 47 ff.). Again, if we refer to the Genesis account we see that Adam was created a man of dust; he did not become so after the Fall. Then Paul proceeds to equate "man of dust" with "flesh and blood", which, he says, is "perishable" and "cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (v. 50). "Flesh and blood" seems to have an entirely natural connotation and appears not to be the same as the metaphysical sinful reality which he

¹For a recent exposition of this view see M. E. Dahl, The Resurrection of the Body, London, 1962, pp. 123 ff.

so often refers to as "flesh". In other words, Paul seems to say that we were created men of dust, men of flesh and blood, and we are therefore perishable. There seems to be no reference in this part of his argument to sin as the source of mortality. If, then, our mortality is a part of our nature as created, certainly it is to be termed natural.¹

If Paul here teaches that death is natural, what are we to do with the more numerous passages which seem to characterize death as an alien intruder, given its power by sin and not by God? Should we revise our interpretation of them or adopt the suggestion of Althaus that Paul may possibly have held both views and did not attempt intellectually to reconcile them?

Before deciding, let us see what kind of a case can be made for denying that Paul here teaches the naturalness of death. First, there are statements in other parts of this same chapter ^(cf. I Cor.) which are either consistent with the view that Paul regarded death as the result of sin or which clearly express that view. Let us take them in order. "Christ died for our sins" (v. 3). The doctrine that Christ died because of our sins is more meaningful if we understand death in all men to be the result of sin rather than our natural creaturely destiny. This is not conclusive, however, since it is possible to insist on a distinction between death as penal and death as 'normal'. But later (v. 21) Paul writes, "For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the

¹It is v. 45 which Althaus offers as proof (Beweis) that such passages as Rom. 5:12; 6:23, and 1 Cor. 15:56 should not be taken to mean that bodily death is a metaphysical effect of man's fall into sin.

dead." Here, there can be no doubt, Paul is again interpreting the Adam story in such a way as to make Adam the agent through whom death entered the world (cf. Rom. 5:12). If Althaus and Barth are to be followed, we must, however, understand Paul here to be referring not to literal death but only to "death in death". This might be maintained if in the context the Apostle were speaking of being raised to "newness of life" as in Rom. 6:4; but his subject in this whole discussion is not a spiritual-ethical resurrection but the resurrection of the body. No, it was death in all its literal fulness which, according to Paul, came by Adam; and in this chapter it is death as mortality which holds his attention. When in v. 22 we read, "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive", the reference is to death as mortality and to resurrection as the conquest of mortality.

Then, perhaps even more impressively, we find Paul characterizing death as an enemy of Christ. It will be the last to be destroyed of those ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, and δυνάμεις which are now opposing Christ's kingdom (v. 24 ff.). When the sinful powers are destroyed death's sting will be finally drawn, its dominion over the earth overcome; it will be "swallowed up in victory" (v. 54 ff.). There can be no question here of Paul regarding θάνατος as an inherent part of God's good creation and as only de facto a sign of God's judgment. Death, including death as mortality, is a great enemy.

Finally,

The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. (v. 56 f.)

Here we have the theme of Romans 7 repeated, a chapter in which death is

most emphatically treated as the effect of sin and which reaches its climax in these words:

Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death? Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord! (Rom. 7:24 f.)

In short, then, if Paul teaches the naturalness of death in verses 35-50, he is clearly inconsistent not only with what he writes elsewhere, but he contradicts himself within this single discussion.

One way of explaining this apparent contradiction within 1 Cor. 15 is to say that Paul fell temporarily into a mode of expression which did not really reflect his mind. Bultmann, for instance, in discussing Paul's concept of *σῶμα*, insists that "it is a methodological error to choose this passage [1 Cor. 15:35 ff.] as the point of departure for the interpretation of soma; for in it Paul lets himself be misled into adopting his opponents' method of argumentation, and in so doing he uses the soma-concept in a way not characteristic of him elsewhere."¹ It is a rather dubious way of surmounting the difficulty raised by a passage, to treat it as uncharacteristic of the author; but we might try to apply it to our own problem.

For one thing, there is a distinct change of mood after v. 50, and most of vv. 1-34 has a quality different from vv. 35-50. If Paul does fall into an uncharacteristic mode of expression in these verses it may be that he is going even further than usual in the principle: "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Cor. 9:22). There is considerable difference in scholarly opinion as to the identity of that group in the Corinthian Christian community who were re-

¹R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, trans. by K. Grobel, London, 1952, p. 192.

jecting the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. But whether they were Platonists, or gnostics, or Sadducees they were of a rationalist turn. It is possible, therefore, that in these verses, when Paul is dealing with the nature of the resurrection body -- always a special stumbling block for the rationalist -- he tried to meet them on their own ground and so fell away temporarily from that resolution not to preach the gospel with "plausible words of wisdom" (1 Cor. 2:4) which he expressed earlier in this same letter. In other words, to the rationalist he adopted a way of reasoning calculated to influence the rationalist but which diverged from his own deepest convictions. But this is coming uncomfortably close to an assertion that either Paul had a bit of the charlatan in him or was dull-witted. Either we charge him with consciously misrepresenting his own convictions or we say that he is doing so without realizing it.

Perhaps we should do better to examine these problem verses more closely, to see if they really do, after all, teach that death is natural. It is possible that their inconsistency with the rest of the chapter is rather of the surface than of the substance.

Let us look again at the parable of the kernel of grain. For our minds a botanical reference carries with it the idea of natural law and this idea tends to carry over to that with which the botanical phenomenon is compared. But we may well question whether this was the case with Paul or with his readers. For one thing, as we have seen, it is possible that Paul regarded even the death of plants as a part of the corruption which the power of sin has worked in the cosmos. This is perhaps too

uncertain to base an argument on, but it does remind us to be cautious about assuming that Paul's mind worked just as ours do. Something more cogent is the fact that plant death and renewal is analogous in Paul's discussion not only to man's death but also to his resurrection. Did Paul think of the resurrection in terms of natural process? To ask the question is to have its answer. What could be more contrary to the idea of natural process than the Pauline conception of the resurrection? Bultmann takes the position that nowhere in the New Testament is death thought of as an event of nature and that where death and resurrection are spoken of as analogous to an event of nature as in 1 Cor. 15:36 or John 12:24 death is not thought of as an event of nature any more than is the resurrection.¹ A look at John 12:24 helps us to get the point. When the death of Jesus is there compared to "a grain of wheat [which] falls into the earth and dies" there is no suggestion, certainly, that his death is to be regarded as a natural event.

Or the matter can be put in another way. Many funeral orations and even Easter sermons draw the assurance of immortality from the return of spring and other phenomena of nature (including that of v. 36) involving death and renewal, but is this according to the mind of Paul? The resurrection of those "who have fallen asleep in Christ" (v. 18): did Paul regard this as something either built into the nature of man

¹T.W.N.T., III, p. 14, "Nirgends wird der Versuch gemacht, den Tod als Naturvorgang zu interpretieren und ihn dadurch zu neutralisieren, und auch da, wo an seine Aufhebung durch die Auferstehung gedacht ist und Sterben und Auferstehen nach Analogie eines Naturvorgangs beschrieben wird (1 K 15,36; J 12,24), wird er nicht als natürlicher Vorgang begriffen, sowenig wie die Auferstehung; jener als Analogie gemeinte Vorgang darf im biblischen Sinne schon nicht als ein Naturprozess im griechisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Sinne verstanden werden."

and the cosmos or as having any causal relation to it? It is hard to think so when one reads: "For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed" (v. 52). If the resurrection is not to be thought of as an event of nature, though this analogy from plant death and renewal refers to it as well as to death, should the "naturalness" of plant death be urged as evidence that Paul regarded the death of believers as natural?

Because it is really the death and resurrection of the believer which Paul has in mind. Though he writes that "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (v. 22), we are to note that it is "in Christ" that they will be raised. This is not the place to raise the question as to whether or not Paul believed in universal salvation. It is plain that if all are saved it will be because they are "in Christ", because in v. 23 we are told that it will be οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ who are raised to life at his coming. In other words, though Paul compares the death and resurrection of the believer to a common phenomenon of this present world order, he is actually dealing with two very different sorts of reality. The death and the resurrection of the believer belongs to an eschatological order of reality which cannot be understood in terms of "nature". It is perfectly clear that Paul's thinking about the death and resurrection of the believer is dominated by his conception of the death and resurrection of Christ. For instance, his assertion that "if there is a psychical body there is also a spiritual body" (v. 44) proceeded, of course, from his understanding of the change which occurred in the body of Jesus through his death and resurrection. Jesus the man is now living in the realm of

glory because he has a body of glory (Phil. 3:21), that is, a "spiritual" body. Through death he was liberated from sin in the flesh (Rom. 6:6 f.), and he was raised in a body over which sin and death no longer have dominion (Rom. 6:9 f.). Jesus himself is the first fruits; he is the first to pass out entirely from the old aeon into the life of the new, and he did so through death and resurrection. But God is determined that his Son will be "the firstborn among many brethren"; that is, he will cause many "to be conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom. 8:29). They will become like Jesus in his glory, however, only as they participate in his death and in his resurrection: "For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his" (Rom. 6:5). If it is objected that this verse refers to a sacramental participation in the death of Christ (see vv. 3,4) and not to a literal death of our own, we should remember that Paul later, when faced with the likelihood of imminent execution, voiced the hope of "becoming like him in his death, that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead" (Phil. 3:10 f.). This brings us into that area of Paul's theology of death in which death is seen to be, through the amazing power of God's grace, a means of salvation. The death of a believer is a special kind of death: it is death $\tau\omega$ κυρίῳ (Rom. 14:8) and this kind of death participates in the destruction of death's power. This part of the Pauline theology will occupy us in later chapters.

Now it may well be that those in the Corinthian church who were rejecting the doctrine of bodily resurrection did so because of a gnostic-like 'spirituality' which disdained materiality of all kinds and had as

much difficulty with a doctrine of salvation through death — bodily death — as with a doctrine of bodily resurrection. This may explain why the chapter begins with an emphasis on the gospel tradition of Jesus' death and burial as well as on his resurrection. These disbelievers may well have accepted the resurrection of Christ in a 'spiritual' sense and used with enthusiasm Paul's teaching about the believer's present resurrection in Christ through the Spirit. In other words, they may have been saying that the saving 'resurrection' has already occurred (cf. 2 Tim. 2:18). So Paul had to face a form of disbelief which failed to appreciate both the bodily death and the bodily resurrection of Jesus, and which, therefore, also misunderstood the nature of the kingdom of God. The disbelievers were indeed right in thinking that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (v. 50), but they were mistaken in thinking that the body will have no part in it. Paul is concerned to convince them that Christ won participation in the life of the new aeon for himself and for us through bodily death and bodily resurrection, and that "in Christ" the believer's bodily death and bodily resurrection become salvation events which enable them to be "glorified with him" (Rom. 8:17). True, Paul consistently taught (1 Thess. 4:15 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:51) that those who are alive at the return of Christ will participate in the Messianic kingdom even though they have not participated in the sufferings of Christ to the point of bodily death. But the reason for this is clear: with the return of Christ the reign of death will be over — it will be "destroyed", and the change necessary to fit a believer to share in God's kingdom will be wrought apart from death. But as long as this aeon

lasts death will be forced to serve the purposes of grace.¹ Therefore, when the Apostle urged upon the disbeliever the consideration that "what you sow does not come to life unless it dies," he was, in an uncharacteristic manner, insisting again that the great salvation events are the bodily death and the bodily resurrection of Christ (cf. John 12:24) and that "in Christ" these are also salvation events for the believer. Insofar as this is an accurate estimate of Paul's meaning, it must be said that he was no more implying the naturalness of death than he was implying the naturalness of the resurrection when he compared both to death and renewal in a plant.

We turn now to those verses (45-49) which contrast Christ with Adam and which seem to say that Adam was created a being who was to die. Both Althaus² and Barth³ understand v. 45 as teaching that mortality is a natural part of the created order. These verses contrast Adam with Christ in two ways: first, Adam was created a living $\psi\chi\eta$ while Christ became a life-giving $\piνε\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and, second, Adam was made of the dust of the earth while Christ is "a man from heaven". They also contrast participation in the two Adams as if there is a sort of natural and necessary progression from the one to the other. The psychical precedes the spiritual (v. 46)

¹Cf. Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik, Festschrift for Erich Klostermann, pp. 43 ff., an article by H. Riesenfeld, "Das Bildwort vom Weizenkorn bei Paulus (Zu 1 Kor 15)". Riesenfeld takes the position that the analogy of the kernel of grain provides the key to Paul's intention in 1 Cor. 15. The argument of the chapter is directed towards a group who feel that they have the substance of eternal life already, and Paul is therefore asserting the necessity of death as the "Voraussetzung der Auferstehung".

²Op. cit., p. 415.

³Op. cit., p. 639.

and "as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven" (v. 49). Then v. 50 seems to imply that Adam and all of his descendants are, as flesh and blood, perishable and so cannot have part in the imperishable kingdom of God.

It may help us to come to terms with this passage to note that it is characteristic of Paul to contrast Christ and Adam in the strongest terms. In the one other passage where Adam is expressly named (Rom. 5:12-19), the Apostle is anxious to make clear that Adam and Christ can be compared only as opposites. In Rom. 8:19-23, as we have seen, Paul is contrasting what Adam did in bringing the whole creation under an intolerable bondage of corruption to what Christ will do in giving it the freedom of glory. Phil. 2:5-11 implies a direct contrast with Adam at almost every point.¹ Whereas Adam was of the earth and by arrogantly aspiring to be equal with God brought himself and the cosmos to ruin, Christ was of the very nature of God and by repeatedly humbling himself until he shared the depths of man's shame in death on a cross has won for himself, and eventually for all things visible and invisible, the glory of God's presence.

Now it is to be noticed that in these three passages there is a double contrast which is either expressed or implied: the contrast of origin and the contrast of deed. In Romans 5 the whole expressed contrast is concerned with the difference in the quality of the deeds of

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The scholarly consensus appears to be that Paul (or the writer of a pre-Pauline hymn) is contrasting Christ with Adam in this passage. But see E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, London, 1955, p. 64, "It is quite plain that what is in Paul's mind in Phil. 2.6 ff. is this picture of Satan and his superbia, and it is that which he contrasts with such emphasis with the picture of Christ and his humilitas."

the one man Adam and the one man Jesus Christ, but the way in which the redemption of Christ far exceeds the destruction of Adam (v. 17) implies that Christ is far greater than Adam by nature. The passage in Romans 8 involves a similar contrast, with emphasis again on the greatness of Christ's work of redemption as compared with the destructiveness of Adam's sinful deed (v. 18). The Philippians passage involves an increased emphasis on the implied difference in original status between the one from heaven and the one of earth; but there is also great emphasis on the difference in deed. When, therefore, we note that in 1 Cor. 15:45-49 the whole expressed contrast is on the difference in nature between the heavenly man and the man of dust we might well have a strong suspicion that we are misreading Paul if this is all we find. We should look more closely to see if an emphasis on the death-dealing destructiveness of Adam's deed is really absent.

When in v. 35 the question is raised about the nature of the resurrection body, Paul replies that it is a new body. There must be a dissolution of the old body (as with the kernel of grain) in order that the new might come to be. God gives the new body, and observation of the earth and the heavens shows that God provides bodies of great variety. These bodies differ greatly in glory, with the difference being greatest between the bodies of earth as compared with heavenly bodies. Then in vv. 42-50 we find a series of striking contrasts between the believer's present body and that which he must have if he is to participate in the kingdom of God.

Now the point of concern to us is this: the contrast throughout vv. 42-50 is between the body one receives from the first Adam and that

which one will receive from the last Adam,¹ so that although Adam is not actually mentioned until v. 45 the contrast between Adam and Christ actually begins at v. 42.

There are four contrasts drawn between the two bodies. The two bodies are as different as φθορά differs from ἀφθαρσία, as ἀτιμία differs from δόξα, as ασθενεία differs from δύναμις, and as ψυχικός differs from πνευματικός. If we allow ourselves to be guided by what Paul reveals about his thinking in his other writings we will come to the conclusion that the first three contrasts involve the body of Adam under the law of sin and death -- the body as it came to be after Adam's sin, while only the fourth refers to the body of Adam as created. One has only to read Gal. 6:8 where sinful flesh and φθορά are tied up together, to be sure that Paul would have been shocked at the suggestion that φθορά characterized the life of Adam as God created it. Nor was God's creation characterized by ἀτιμία. The contrast to ἀτιμία is δόξα, and we are told in Romans that we all come short of the glory of God because of sin. Nor is the ασθενεία of our present condition to be attributed to God, but sickness and disease are rather to be attributed to the forces of evil (eg. 2 Cor. 12:7).

Verses 45-49 are given over to the fourth of these contrasts and say that Adam by his created nature was of an order of being radically different from that of Christ and also utterly inferior.² He was formed from the dust

¹This is clearer if we accept the view that the "sowing" in these verses refers to the beginning rather than to the ending of our present life.

²It seems a plausible suggestion that Col. 1:11-20 was constructed with Adam in mind. Whereas through Adam's sin we were brought under the dominion of darkness, Christ is the instrument of redemption, and his is the kingdom of light in which the saints have their inheritance. Adam was

of the earth but Christ is from heaven. We all bear "the image of the man of dust" but only at the resurrection will we come to bear "the image of the man of heaven".

Verse 50 gives two reasons why the change wrought by death and resurrection is necessary. First, we are by nature "flesh and blood" because we, like Adam, are of the dust; but it is impossible for "flesh and blood" to participate in the coming aeon which is of the realm of God's glory. Second, we are through the power of sin — Adam's and our own — of a nature which has become φθαρά; and this would also prevent us from being a part of an order of being which is ἀφθαρσία. The body of our ταπείνωσης which Christ will change into the likeness of his body of glory (Phil. 3:21) includes both aspects of the Adamic nature: one of origin and one wrought by sin.

If this analysis is correct, then it is a mistake to find in these verses a teaching about death which is inconsistent with what Paul teaches elsewhere. If φθαρά was not a part of Adam's original nature then it is an alien thing; death is not a natural part of the creation.

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the son of God (cf. Lk. 3:38) who was made in the image of God (Gen. 1:27, LXX, κατ'εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν) but Christ is "his beloved Son" who is the image of God (ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ). Adam had the dignity of being the first created man and lord of the earth but Christ is the πρωτότοκος of all creation, visible and invisible, in the sense of being the instrument and goal of its very creation and preservation. Adam, the head of the human race, brought the destruction of sin and death upon it; whereas Christ, the head of a new race of men in the church, is the πρωτότοκος from the dead, who through his death achieved the reconciliation of all things to God, which means life and peace. Christ is preeminent in all things, for in him alone dwelt πᾶν τὸ πληρωμα.

It would appear that Paul thought of Adam as having been created with a nature fitting him for living in an earthly paradise. As long as he lived in obedient fellowship with God his life would continue in this paradise. He was made from dust, yes, and it was impossible for him to participate as a man of flesh and blood in the realm of glory, but that did not mean that he had to return to the dust. It was only after Adam sinned and as a part of God's judgment on his sin that it was said to him, "You are dust, and to dust you shall return" (Gen. 3:19). The tree of life was one of the trees from which Adam was permitted to eat; and now he was driven from the garden lest he eat of it. This is one of the ways in which the Genesis story says that death came to Adam only because he sinned.¹

But what did Paul think would have happened if Adam had not sinned? What role would Christ then have played? Ephesians teaches that the saints were chosen in Christ before the world was created (1:4). It may be that Paul believed that God from the beginning intended man to share the realm of heavenly glory but purposed that this should come in two stages.²

¹ Even though this Genesis passage is thought to be composite, and the tree of life a later addition, that should not prevent us from treating it as a unity. Cf. D. Bonhoeffer, Creation and Fall, London, 1959, p. 49, "It seems that historically the stories of the tree of life and of the tree of knowledge originally came from different sources. But that is all very obscure: what we are concerned about is the actual text as the Church of Christ has it today." Also E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 20, "In NT study we do not have to ask how modern exegesis deals with an OT passage, but only how it was understood by first-century exegesis."

² Cf. The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, ed. Davies and Daube, pp. 322 ff., Maurice Goguel, "Le caractère, à la fois actuel et futur, du salut dans la théologie paulinienne". Pauline thought implies, says Goguel, that God intended creation to be by two stages, with Christ as the instrument of both. Because of the Fall, the work of Christ

Christ would be the agent of both. In the first step man and the cosmos were created through Christ (1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16), with man fitted for fellowship with God on the level of an earthly paradise. He was a man of dust, who as flesh and blood could not participate in the eternal kingdom to which God intended to bring him eventually. The second step would also be wrought through Christ, by which man and his world would be translated into a spiritual heavenly realm of glory. On the first level man could fall into sin and through sin into death, but after the transformation he would be out of the reach of both sin and death. If man had successfully resisted sin, the transformation would have occurred without all the misery of corruption which man and his world have experienced.¹

But since man did fail, Christ chose to become man in order to redeem the

took on a negative as well as a positive aspect. Christ rescues from sin (negative) and also lifts man from the first stage of creation to the second (positive).

¹We have seen (p. 36 above) that Augustine taught that God so made men that "if they discharged the obligations of obedience, an angelic immortality and a blessed eternity might ensue, without the intervention of death." It could be said that Gen. 3:22 teaches this; since it says that eating of the tree of life would enable Adam to live for ever and seems to imply that Adam had not yet eaten of the tree.

Cf. Karl Rahner, On the Theology of Death, trans. by C. H. Henkey, Edinburgh, 1961, p. 42, "If death is the consequence of the fall of the first man, this implies that, before his sin, the first man was not subject to death. It is not legitimate, however, to infer from this proposition of faith that the first man in Paradise, had he not sinned, would have lived on endlessly in this life." Instead, Adam "would surely have experienced an end to his life" which would have been "a death without dying, would have been a pure, apparent and active consummation of the whole man by an inward movement, free of death in the proper sense, that is, without suffering any violent dissolution of his actual bodily constitution through a power from without." But it would have been death, nonetheless, and so, "not every aspect of death can be considered a consequence of sin that ought not to have been" (p. 43). Rahner goes on to discuss "death as guilt and as natural phenomenon" and observes, approvingly, that "Catholic theology still holds, as against the Protestant reformers and the Jansenists, on sound theological grounds, that death is a

world through his death and resurrection. While redeeming the world from sin and death he also is God's creative agent in lifting it to the second and final stage; so the one through whom all things were created now reconciles all things in the cosmos to God and recreates them into a new kingdom of light and glory (cf. Col. 1:11-20).

It would be a mistake, of course, to put any great emphasis on such speculations as these. They are offered only to show that it is entirely possible to understand 1 Cor. 15:42-50 in such a way as to make a distinction between the man of flesh and blood who needs to be changed before he can inherit the kingdom of God and the man of death (*φθορά*) who needs also to be rescued from the consequences of sin in order to take part in a realm in which there is no death.

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But there is another exegetical resource for those who hold that although Paul did indeed speak of death as the effect of sin, this was only a special, religious way of looking at human death. Though Paul's language, it is said, usually reflects the view that death is an alien thing, occasional expressions are to be found in his letters which show that he also accepted the normal, reasonable view that death is a natural feature of man's creaturely existence.

K. Barth, in the midst of an exegetical demonstration of the proposition that since the New Testament uses the idea of a "second death" there is involved the assumption that there is also "a 'first' death with-

natural event; or, to state it more cautiously, that the death which we actually do experience has also a natural essence" (p. 44).

out the evil, corruptive and unnatural character of the 'second'," calls attention to some passages in the Pauline letters which appear to speak of death and life not as antagonistic, religiously opposite realities but simply as life's normal complementary alternatives.

Again it is no less clear that when in 1 Thess. 5:10, 1 Cor. 3:22, Rom. 8:38 and 14:7 f. and Phil. 1:20 life and death are associated under the superior dominion of Christ, death does not signify an armed and powerful foe but the approaching end of human life contrasted with the possibility of its further continuation.¹

Ernst Lohmeyer disagrees. When making the point that Paul used the noun "life" only as the designation for the religious salvation which the man "in Christ" experiences or hopes for, he notes most of the same passages as "exceptions" and says of them: "Die einzige und leicht erklärliche Ausnahme bildet die geläufige Formel: Leben und Tod."² In other words, Paul sometimes employs an everyday turn of speech when referring to life and death as recognized alternatives facing men, and it is therefore a mistake to draw conclusions from these expressions as to Paul's conception of the nature of these two realities.

Let us consider three of the passages in question together:

For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. (Rom. 8:38 f.)

So let no one boast of men. For all things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or life or death or the present or the future, all are yours and you are Christ's; and Christ is God's. (1 Cor. 3:21 f.)

¹Barth, Church Dogmatics, III, 2, p. 637.

²Lohmeyer, Probleme Paulinischer Theologie, p. 128.

...it is my eager expectation and hope that I shall not be at all ashamed, but that with full courage now as always Christ will be honored in my body, whether by life or by death. (Phil. 1:20)

Now it must be granted to Barth that the terms *ζωή* and *θάνατος* in these passages do not bear as heavy a burden of meaning as they so often do in Paul. They do not here stand for salvation and destruction; but does this mean that Paul is revealing another view of death which makes it a natural feature of human life?

First of all, it is obvious that Paul's intention in these passages does not involve a purposeful expression about the nature of death. If a view about death is expressed it is quite unintentional, incidental to his purpose.

Also, all three passages are strikingly eloquent and have a distinctly rhetorical quality. In the first two especially, Paul is stretching to express the fullest limits of possibility.¹ In the third he refers to the two possibilities in the critical situation which confronted him. Now, since life as continuance in this present existence and death as its termination do unquestionably — in any view of things — represent the full dramatic possibilities facing men in their present existence, how was Paul to express the two possibilities without using the accepted terms? That is to say, if Paul did regard death as totally alien to God's creative purpose and he wanted to be sure that no reader would miss this implication

¹Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, vol. 1, p. 254. In discussing Paul's use of the term *κόσμος*, Bultmann notes that it "often denotes the quintessence of earthly conditions of life and earthly possibilities. It embraces all the vicissitudes included between the pairs of polar terms 'life ...death', 'things present...things future' (1 Cor. 3:22)."

in his language, would he have accomplished this by using some other nouns than $\zeta\omega\eta$ and $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ when referring to these two possibilities? Could not his doing so be interpreted to mean that he held a double view of death, as both natural and unnatural?

Paul's conception of death was a many-sided one.¹ One side of it gives recognition to death as a 'normal' feature of this present age. But to Paul the present age is evil (Gal. 1:4); it is an age dominated by powers of darkness (Eph. 6:12), one of which is death. Death is a 'normal' feature of this aeon, but it is nevertheless evil and alien to God's intention for his creation.

In a fourth passage Paul says that our Lord Jesus Christ "died for us so that whether we wake or sleep we might live with him" (1 Thess. 5:10). Here Paul does use other language than $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\zeta\omega\eta$ in referring to these two possibilities of our present existence. This is partly because he chose to use verbs but more because he wanted to express the confidence of a believer in facing death. He again recognizes that in this age death takes the believer also, but, Paul would say, that does not mean that death has succeeded in destroying him. Nothing can separate the believer from his Lord — not even death! Barth notes that "sleep" is the "characteristic New Testament term" for the death of believers and concludes from this fact that death has become "a wholly natural thing for the Christian."² But, if this is indeed so, why do believers, in concert with

¹It might well be noted that the main concern of Barth's discussion is with death as the termination of man's finite, earthly existence. By any reading, Paul's theology of death is far wider than this.

²Barth, op. cit., p. 638.

the rest of the creation which is in "bondage to decay", suffer anguish within themselves as they wait for the deliverance of their bodies from this slavery (Rom. 8:21, 23)? No, the reason why Paul, with other New Testament writers, uses "sleep" when referring to the death of the saints is because death no longer wins the triumph. It is still an enemy, but it has been mastered by Christ.¹ Barth himself expresses this well, saying, "For the Christians of the New Testament Jesus Christ Himself intervenes at once and absolutely on the far side of this event."²

The last of this group of passages to which Barth refers is Rom. 14:7 ff.

οὐδείς γὰρ ἑμῶν ἐαυτῷ θῆ,
καὶ οὐδείς ἐαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει.
ἐάν τε γὰρ θῶμεν,
τῷ Κυρίῳ θῶμεν,
ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν,
τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκωμεν.
ἐάν τε οὖν θῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν,
τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσμέν.

In the whole passage of which these lines are a part Paul is trying to persuade "all God's beloved in Rome" not to narrow down their Christian

¹Cf. W. Kreck, Die Zukunft des Gekommenen, Munich, 1961, p. 153, "In Christus sind wir vom Fluch des Todesgerichts Gottes befreit, er hat dem Tode die Macht genommen, so dass uns kein Tod mehr von der Liebe Gottes trennen kann. Hier gilt Luthers Wort: Der Tod ist ein Schlaf geworden! Aber das nimmt nichts davon zurück, dass er als solcher der Feind ist, dass aber auch das Sterben, mit dem unser Leben endet, Zeichen des Göttlichen Gerichts ist."

²Barth, op. cit., p. 638.

fellowship to those only who exactly share their own opinions and practices. All who accept Christ as Lord should be received. Here again Paul rises to a notable pitch of eloquence, as he writes of the breadth and absoluteness of Christ's lordship over his own. Paul wants to express as vividly as he can the extreme limits of possibility open to human experience, so he uses the fateful realities of living and dying. In both Jesus Christ is Lord! Even when we die it is $\tau\omega\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$; even in death we are $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$. Paul is using that fear of death which even the believer feels, to make his point as emphatic as possible.¹ One can feel the sense of exaltation which gripped Paul as he wrote (or dictated) these rhythmical lines -- exaltation arising from the assurance that through his conquest of death Christ has become Lord even of the dead! It is Christ's victory over the enemy which thrills Paul, not a realization that death had become wholly natural for the believer.

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Perhaps, then it is fair to say in conclusion that the weight of evidence is in favor^u₁ of the view that Paul held consistently to a thoroughgoing view of death as unnatural. It can perhaps with justice be said that a serious misunderstanding of both the mood and the direction of Paul's thinking is involved when recognition is given to the fact that he viewed death as the work of sin, adding then that he regarded this as only relatively true.

This conclusion will have to be tested again in the following

¹He does not use $\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ here but $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\nu\eta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$, the word which would tend to carry with it the twinge of fear it always carried for his readers in their pre-Christian experience.

chapters, especially when we come to a consideration of Paul's teaching that God in Christ has made death a very special means of salvation. It can in any case be said that the issue we have been discussing is of great consequence to an understanding of Paul's theology of death.

CHAPTER FOUR

Death as Power

In our efforts to express Paul's thinking about death we have spoken of the "power" of death and of death as one of the "powers of darkness". We have treated death as if it is a dynamic something capable of enslaving creation and then of opposing its liberation. Did Paul really hold such a view, or have we been misled by vivid language which should have been interpreted metaphorically rather than realistically?

It is common today for language to be used about death which, if taken literally, implies that death is a personal, purposeful reality, when this is not the intention at all. The common view is that death is simply the absence of life. Life is something, but death is not something. Death is the negation of life, but it is not something which positively, actively opposes life. Death is the running out of life; it is the termination of aliveness. Something which was so organized and active as to be recognized as alive has ceased to be that way; so it is now dead. Death is no more than simply deadness. And yet there are commonly used ways of speaking which seem directly to contradict this view, such as "Death takes a holiday" or "Death has claimed another victim" or "when his chest was quickly opened and his heart massaged death retreated." The person who says such things does not expect to be taken literally. He may, indeed, have an eerie feeling about death which does not fully square with the view that death is merely the absence of life, but he does not question the prevailing view.

What about Paul? When he writes that "the last enemy to be destroyed

is death" (1 Cor. 15:26): is this not simply the rhetoric of strong feeling, or does he really mean that death is some kind of an actual nihilistic thrust out of a realm of evil which Christ will conquer by means of superior power? Could we not say that the 'dramatic' character of Paul's language about death is to be understood from the fact that he regarded death as a failure to participate in that life offered by God in Jesus Christ which he conceived of in such wonderfully ideal terms? Or have we been right in saying that Paul regarded death as a positive force which "kills" men and then "rules" over them, striving to prevent them from seeing the light of life in Jesus Christ?

If we find that Paul did regard death as a "dynamic something" rather than just the absence of life, we still must ask how he conceived of this "dynamic something". Did he think of death as one aspect of a single power of evil, or did he think of it as one of many powers of evil? If the latter, how did he rank death in the hierarchy of evil powers? And did he think of death as in some sense personal, with purpose and intelligence?

In our attempt to give Pauline answers to these questions it is relevant, first of all, to note that there is a strong accent on power in Paul's doctrine of salvation. The "word of the cross" is divine power (1 Cor. 1:18); the resurrection was with immeasurable divine power (Eph. 1:19 ff.); Christ, who was "designated Son of God in power" in being raised from the dead (Rom. 1:4), now "lives by the power of God" (2 Cor. 13:4). In short, Christ is "the power of God" (1 Cor. 1:24)¹ for salvation to all who call upon him.

¹Cf. TWNT, II, 305, "1 K 1,24 ist der Christus schlechthin die 'Kraft Gottes' genannt. In seiner alle Macht der Finsternis und des Todes über-

Paul says of the good news of Jesus Christ that "it is the power of God unto salvation" (Rom. 1:16). This accent on salvation as the result of an exercise of divine power on man's behalf constitutes a strong presumption that Paul thought of that from which men are saved as powerful in as real a sense as divine power is real. Since Christ died and rose again that men might share his own victory over the dominion of death (Rom. 6:9), it would appear that Paul, in some sense, thought of death's dominion in a realistic way.

Furthermore, since death, according to Paul, is only one of a number of tyrants from which Christ came to rescue us, we should be able to get some help in understanding Paul's thinking about death's tyranny by noting what he has to say about the other tyrants. They are sin, the flesh, the law, the devil, demons, and a whole hierarchy of enemy powers to whom Paul refers variously (ἀρχαί, κύριοι, κυριότητες, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις, θρόνοι, ἄρχοντες, κοσμοκράτορες, στοιχεῖα, ἄγγελοι) and which are conveniently referred to as the principalities and powers.¹

To understand Paul's thinking about these enemies is not an easy matter, partly because we have to do with the dark problem of evil. But Paul has made things even more difficult and embarrassing for theologians by posing the problem of evil in this way. What Paul has to say about sin is difficult enough, but the further one moves down the list of tyrants as given above the greater the difficulties become for the theologian trying

windend en Kraft ist er die Kraft Gottes. Als solche Kraft Gottes ist er Gegenstand und Inhalt christlichen Kerygmas."

¹Cf. H. Schlier, Principalities and Powers in the New Testament, Edinburgh, 1961, pp. 11 f.

to present Scriptural truth in an understandable manner. Aulén in Christus Victor¹ insists that the view of Christ's work found in Paul (and elsewhere in the New Testament), which speaks of it in terms of conflict with enemy powers, is the view of the atonement which dominated the whole Patristic period and should be thought of as the "classic" Christian view. This view has, however, according to Aulén, been largely lost sight of for centuries, while theology has studied the atonement in terms of acceptance or rejection of "the orthodox satisfaction-theory". This has been caused by the distaste of theologians for dualistic and mythological thinking and a preference for rational systematization. In other words, theologians have for centuries found it more congenial to discuss the achievements of Christ's death and resurrection in terms of Rom. 4:25 ("who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification") than to try to include also those of Col. 2:15 ("he disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in him").²

It has never been possible to deny, of course, that the 'dramatic' view of the work of Christ is to be found in the New Testament, but it has often been treated as a non-essential reflection of a world-view which has passed away. In recent decades, however, there has been a greater willingness to recognize this conflict-view of Christ's work as essential to an understanding of the mind of the New Testament writers. This recognition

¹G. Aulén, Christus Victor, trans. by A. G. Hebert, London, 1931.

²Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 297, "Christ's death is not merely a sacrifice which cancels the guilt of sin (i.e. the punishment contracted by sinning); but it is also the means of release from the powers of this age: Law, Sin, and Death."

is sometimes given even when it is given with obvious regret.¹ But, on the other hand, there are theologians who feel that a recognition and proclamation of Christ's redemptive work as a conflict with evil forces is an urgent necessity.²

Recognition of the importance of the "conflict" view in Paul comes most surely with recognition of the fact that, for Paul, Christ's redemption is cosmic in ^{its} dimensions. It was impossible for Paul to view human life in isolation from the cosmos. He saw human life as inescapably conditioned by the whole world order of which it is a part, though a very significant part. Along with this goes Paul's conception of the Fall. The fall of man involved also the whole cosmos of which he is a part, in-

¹Cf. C. A. Anderson Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, Cambridge, 1927, p. 38, "Many other illustrations might be given; but these are enough to show how much importance was attached in early Christian thought to the idea that Christ by His death had redeemed men from servitude to the spirit-forces of evil. When we add the evidence from the Mission field to-day, we may conclude that the proclamation of Redemption from the dominion of these spirit-forces as accomplished through the death of Christ was one which would find a wide response in the first century from people who stood at a certain level of intelligence and of culture."

²Cf. James S. Stewart, "On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology", SJT, vol. 4, 1951, pp. 300 f. "My one concern has been to insist that, however we may interpret it, we must recognize that here we are dealing, not with some unessential apocalyptic scaffolding, but with the very substance of the faith....And it is no use, in a day when spirit forces of passionate evil have been unleashed upon the earth and when fierce emotions are tearing the world apart, it is no use having a milk-and-water passionless theology: no good setting a tepid Christianity against a scorching paganism. The thrust of the demonic has to be met with the fire of the divine. As indeed it can: since Christ has overcome the world."

Cf. G. Aulén, Christus Victor, p. 176. The closing paragraph of the book is: "For my own part, I am persuaded that no form of Christian teaching has any future before it except such as can keep steadily in view the reality of the evil in the world, and go to meet the evil with a battle-song of triumph. Therefore I believe that the classic idea of the Atonement and of Christianity is coming back — that is to say, the genuine, authentic Christian faith."

cluding not only the visible order of being but also the invisible, not only sub-human life but also super-human spirits.¹ In the apocalyptic book of Enoch the origin of evil spiritual forces is traced to the cohabitation of "the sons of God" with human women as told about in Genesis 6. This was a popular theory for some time among the apocalyptic writers but later gave way to the story of the Fall in Genesis 3, which was popular in Paul's day. It would appear that although the Pauline letters contain no reference to the Genesis 6 account, Paul combined the conception of a fall of angels with the Genesis 3 account, in which angels play no part.

That the fall of man could also have involved angelic beings is a most difficult conception, but passages such as 1 Cor. 6:3 ("Do you not know that we are to judge angels?") and Eph. 3:10 ("that through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places") indicate a belief that angelic beings can be subject to human beings or dependent on them. That some angels are a constituent part of the universe is suggested by 1 Cor. 4:9 ("we have become a spectacle to the κόσμος, to angels and to men"). That Paul did not by any means always think of angels as beneficent is shown by Dibelius in his treatment of such passages as 1 Cor. 11:10 and 1 Cor.

¹ Cf. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1958, p. 213. "It would seem...that in St. Paul's thought, these world-rulers had fallen from grace and had rebelled against God and become corrupted; the 'Fall' was a cosmic event, and was not simply the Fall of Man; the whole world order was thus brought into subjection to corruption and death."

Cf. C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, London, 1962, p. 115. "The rebellion of Adam led, as we have seen, to a double consequence: on the one hand, to a distortion of the make-up of human nature, and, on the other, to the subjugation of mankind, and of the cosmos itself, to powers which should have been the servants of man."

4:9; and he has pointed out that the expression "angel of light" in 2 Cor. 11:14 implies belief in both angels of light and angels of darkness.¹

The principalities and powers, according to Paul, were created through Christ and for Christ (Col. 1:16) and were, therefore, originally good.² Evidently he thought of them as angelic beings who had been given governing authority over all the elements of the cosmos, in the heavens and in the earth (1 Cor. 8:6; Eph. 6:12; Col. 1:16 f.; cf. Phil. 2:10), including human society (1 Cor. 2:7).³ These *κοσμοκράτορες* of this present age are in rebellion against God, and Christ will not be able to complete his work of perfecting his kingdom until he defeats them (1 Cor. 15:24) or reconciles them again to his Father (Col. 1:20, Phil. 2:10 f.).⁴

It is our purpose to pursue an investigation of Paul's thinking about the principalities and powers only so far as to shed some light on what he thought about death as another of the enemy powers. Of the prin-

¹M. Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 13 ff.; 28 ff.; 48 ff. On 1 Cor. 11:10 see also G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp. 17 ff.

Cf. also Alan Richardson, op. cit., p. 209. "There are no good angels in St. Paul."

It is probably not without significance that nowhere in the Pauline letters do we find reference to assistance from angels.

²Cf. H. Schlier, op. cit., p. 37.

³Cf. Caird, Principalities and Powers, p. 22. "Paul believed that that society [ancient society] was controlled by angelic rulers who, though corrupt and doomed to lose their power, retained as long as the present age lasted the stamp of their original God-given authority."

⁴Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 27 f. and 81 f.

cipalities and powers we can, then, confidently conclude that Paul thought of them as powers in a most realistic sense. The names he uses for them show that he thought of them as enormously powerful, wielding as they do the power of the heavenly bodies,¹ of the elements of nature, and of human governments. He also thought of them as personal, capable of rebelling and of governing and of being reconciled to God. Finally, he thought of them as instruments of sin, being subject, along with man, to the deceitfulness and power of sin.

Of Paul's thinking about demons (we are considering the "tyrants" as listed on p. 79 in reverse order), it can be said that he conceived of them as real, personal beings who can receive the worship of deceived persons (1 Cor. 10:20 f.), lead men astray to the worship of idols, and inspire false prophets (1 Cor. 12:2 f.). Comparing 1 Cor. 8:5 and context with 1 Cor. 10:20 f. one might be justified in finding a suggestion that they are to be thought of as among or closely related to the principalities and powers, with less authority and dignity. There is no good reason to doubt that Paul thought of them also as creatures who had been suborned by sin into opposition to their Creator.

Concerning Paul's conception of Satan, it is perhaps most important to ask how he conceived of Satan's relation to sin. Did he conceive of

¹Cf. C. K. Barrett, op. cit., p. 115, "It seems clear that the cosmic elements (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου), to which Paul sees fallen man in bondage, and Christian man always in danger of relapsing, are closely connected with the heavenly bodies. Both in Galatians and Colossians they are mentioned in a context which has to do with the calendar — days, months, seasons, feasts, new moons — all institutions that are governed by the regular and dominating motion of sun, moon, planets, and stars."

M. Dibelius, op. cit., p. 128, sees in the θεόνοι of Col. 1:16 a specific reference to "Gestirngeister". Cf. also H. Schlier, op. cit., p. 23.

Satan as the source and power of sin, as sin personified? The evidence would appear to be against such an equation of sin and Satan.¹ Satan appears to have been a much less significant conception with Paul than that of sin. For example, in the first eight chapters of Romans *ἁμαρτία* is to be found 39 times and Satan not once. The only mention of Satan in Romans is in the sixteenth chapter, where Satan is the spirit behind dissensions and heresies in the church. It would appear that Paul thought of Satan as the most formidable of the servants of sin, with functions (as in the O.T.) especially related to the activities of human beings. When Paul refers to Satan as "the god of this *αἰῶν*" he may well be using *αἰῶν* in the sense of the world as "the sphere of human relationships",² since he is speaking of the blinding of men's minds to the light of the gospel. Only in Eph. 6 is Satan (and only here is he referred to as "the devil") mentioned along with the principalities and powers — and in such a way as not to require us to think of him as their chief.³ It goes almost without saying that Paul did not use the term "Satan" in a mythological way but as designation for a real personal power of evil. Furthermore, there is no reason to think that the dualism represented by Satan was

¹Cf. Lohmeyer, Probleme Paulinischer Theologie, p. 87, "Der Teufel kann wohl, wie die Worte des Paulus lauten, die Gläubigen 'versuchen' oder überwältigen, er hat dem Apostel 'einen Pfeil ins Fleisch gegeben'. Aber nirgends ist zu lesen, dass der Teufel der Ursprung und Urheber der Sünde sei."

²Cf. Bultmann, The Theology of the New Testament, vol. 1, pp. 255 f.

³Cf. Aulén, Christus Victor, p. 66, where it is noted that Paul "makes considerably less mention of the devil than most of the Fathers; instead, in some important passages he speaks of a great complex of demonic forces, 'principalities and powers', which Christ has overcome in the great conflict." This may mean that the Fathers took the devil to be essentially equivalent to these other demonic forces.

for Paul of an ultimate kind; Satan was created to be a servant of God, and God still uses him to serve the purposes of grace (eg. 1 Cor. 5:5; 2 Cor. 12:7 ff.). However, it would appear quite certain that Paul conceived of Satan's fall as having preceded that of man. Rom. 16:20 indicates that Paul thought of Satan as the serpent of Gen. 3, since he uses the promise of Gen. 3:15 (that the seed of the woman would destroy the serpent) to refer to the defeat of Satan. Therefore, if Satan is not to be thought of as the originator and continuing source of sin -- as sin personified -- he is to be thought of as a very special servant of sin. Perhaps Paul could denominate Satan as "god of this aeon" because he believed that it was especially through the agency of Satan that Adam rebelled against God and that through Adam's rebellion sin entered into the cosmos and occupied the whole of it.

Another tyrant from which Christ liberates is the Law. Here we come to something quite different in that although the authority of the Law is real and very great, it is not a personal being; and if it may be thought of as a "power", it is only so in a very different sense than Satan, for instance. We do not need to guess as to its origin. It is God's law (though it was "ordained by angels", Gal. 3:19) and is, therefore, "holy and just and good" (Rom. 7:12). It belongs, however, to the present age and is, in a sense, one of the *στοιχεῖα* (Gal. 4:9). Being a part of this present evil age, even the Law has not escaped the power of sin. Sin actually makes the Law an instrument of death (Rom. 7:8 ff.), even as sin used God's commandment to cause Adam's rebellion and death.

The flesh is another tyrant against which Paul says some very hard

things, but it is evil only in that sin uses it for its destructive purposes. Man was created flesh as a part of a good earth, but the flesh of this present aeon is an evil force because of the power of sin residing in it. Like the Law, sinful flesh is not a personal being; it is the nature or condition of all who belong to a fallen cosmos as un-fallen flesh was the nature or condition of Adam and Eve before the Fall (Gen. 2:23 f.). The flesh has very real power in that its ἐπιθυμία, corrupted and misdirected by sin, is able to combat even the Spirit of God (Gal. 5:16 f.).

We come finally to a consideration of Paul's conception of sin, the greatest tyrant of all. He treats it as an objective power, able to take over and to corrupt the cosmos; but of its nature as a power we can gather very little from a study of Paul's writings. We are face to face here with τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας (2 Thess. 2:7), which Paul, like all the other writers of the Bible, leaves a mystery. We can say this with assurance: Paul regarded sin as absolutely alien to God's creation and as that which makes all the other tyrants the enemies of God and man which they are. It is almost certainly a mistake to say that Paul personified sin itself, although he regarded its manifestation as personal in personal beings such as Satan, the demons, and in some, at least, of the principalities and powers.

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What are the results of our brief investigation of the various powers (apart from death) which the Pauline letters speak of as tyrannizing over men? It would appear that the chief result is that sin is to be put into

a separate category from the others. All the other tyrants which we have been considering, although differing in important ways — their powers differ greatly in nature, some are to be thought of as personal and others as impersonal, most are to be thought of as constituent parts of the cosmos but some perhaps not — have one thing in common: they are objective realities which were originally created by God to serve his purposes.

Sin, on the other hand is a much more mysterious power which had no part in the creation but is now that which makes all the other tyrannical powers evil and destructive. It is not a created reality; its reality and power become evident only in the evil condition and acts of the created realities,¹ and it is personal only when acting through personal beings.² What it is in itself cannot be known.

As we take these results and see how they may help us to define Paul's thinking about death's power let us ask, first of all, into which of the

¹Cf. Lohmeyer, Probleme Paulinischer Theologie, p. 81. "Sünde ist nicht eine willentliche Tat des Menschen, obgleich sie nur an menschlichen Taten erscheint, sondern ein Prinzip, durch das jene Taten erst möglich werden."

²Paul does use language about sin which suggests that behind all sinful manifestations is a single intelligent and purposeful personal reality. Yet to posit the existence of an uncreated reality of such a nature is to accept a doctrine of ultimate dualism. Ultimate dualism must not be attributed to Paul except on perfectly clear exegetical evidence — and that is not to be found. So it seems best to think that Paul speaks of sin as he does in order to express his assurance of its reality and power, but that it does most justice to the whole of his teaching to say that sin is a mysterious something more like a principle than a person and that it becomes personal only when personal beings — human and superhuman — manifest this principle of rebellion against God. This is not adequate, but no definition of sin can be adequate. Sin is irrational, and a definition which would satisfy the demands of rationality would be necessarily false.

two categories just described are we to put death? The answer would appear to be that Paul's conception of death requires us to put it into that separate category occupied by sin. Death, for Paul, bears a unique relationship to sin. It has no existence apart from sin. The other powers were given existence by God before sin suborned them, but not so death. For Paul, death exists nowhere except where there is sin, and wherever sin is death is. The two are coextensive.¹ Paul thought of death as punishment for sin, but not in the way a prison sentence is a punishment for burglary, the one following the other and distinct from it.² Sin is itself separation from God, and separation from God is death.³

¹Aulén, op. cit., p. 39, quotes a Bulgarian theologian, Stephen Zankow, on the doctrine of Orthodoxy (The Orthodox Eastern Church, trans. by D. A. Lowrie, London, 1929, pp. 49 f.): "Salvation from what? From sin or from death? Western theologians like to put this contrast, and claim that the Orthodox put death in the foreground instead of sin. But this is scarcely true. Orthodoxy is quite inclined, it is true, to conceive of original sin as the result of the first sin, and death as the reward of sins; yet, as has been said, empirically one is not separated from the other; where sin is, there is death also, and vice versa."

²Cf. Otto Weber, Grundlagen der Dogmatik, Neukirchen/Moers, 1959, vol. 1, p. 684. Death "ist also in der Sünde bereits angelegt — so angelegt, wie in der imago Dei das Leben angelegt ist. Wir werden in der Tat den Begriff der Strafe von jeder heterogenen Vorstellung frei halten müssen: der Tod ist nicht etwa so mit der Sünde verknüpft, wie z.B. eine Gefängnisstrafe mit der Begehung eines Diebstahls. Die menschlich-richterliche Strafe ist heterogene Sanktion. Die 'Strafe', die Gottes Gericht über den Sünder verhängt, besteht darin, dass der Sünder beim Wort genommen wird: das, was der Sünde bereits innewohnt, nämlich die Trennung des Geschöpfes vom Schöpfer, vollzieht sich. In diesem Sinne werden wir auch die Drohung von Gen. 2, 17 zu verstehen haben: sie ist die Warnung des gütigen Schöpfers, etwa vergleichbar der mütterlichen Mahnung an ein Kind: Lass die Finger vom Ofen; du verbrennst dich sonst."

³Ibid., p. 685. "Die Sünde wirkt den Tod, indem sie die Entfremdung des Geschöpfes vom Schöpfer ist, von der 'Quelle des Lebens'. Sie empfängt, was sie ist."

The punishment Adam received for his sin is that even as he sinned everything became different; suddenly life had departed and an existence which is death had taken its place. But, it will be objected, death as corporeal dissolution must be regarded as one aspect of death which does not immediately follow sin. It would indeed seem so, but we are to be reminded that Paul said of persons "in Christ" who were still corporeally alive: τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζῶν διὰ δικαιοσύνην (Rom. 8:10). Paul, it appears, believed that a body composed of sinful flesh is not really alive, death has it firmly in its grip already. Dissolution is only a vivid confirmation of this condition.

Did Paul, then, regard death as an objective power? The answer must be both yes and no. Death is real and powerful as sin is real and powerful, and only in that way. It is not real in the sense that the elements of nature and man and the spirits are real. All reality comes from God; only God and that which he creates has reality. And yet it is as real as evil is real, as real as selfishness and all sinful lusts are real. It is as real as all the distortion and darkness and corruption which characterize this age. It is "das Nichtige"¹ manifest.

Furthermore, we must conclude that it is a mistake to say that Paul viewed death as one of the powers of evil in the sense that it exists along side of and is distinct from Satan, the principalities and powers, etc. Paul identified sin and death in such a way as to make death only,

¹See K. Barth's discussion of "das Nichtige" in Die kirchliche Dogmatik, III, 3, pp. 327 ff.

so to speak, the other side of the coin.¹ When Paul says that "death reigned through that one man" (Rom. 5:17), it may appear that he saw in death an entity distinct from sin, the flesh, etc.; but when a little later (5:21) he says that "sin reigned in death" any idea of death as a distinct or independent entity disappears.² Paul's thinking about sin and death might be compared to the relation of a virus and the illness which it causes. The illness is very real in the sense that the harmony and balance which constitute health have been destroyed; and it can be said that the illness is dominating the person who has it. But actually the reality and power of the illness are only the reality and power of the virus as it multiplies in the body. The virus is reigning in that illness which is the absence of health.

It would also be a mistake to say that Paul personifies death. Since sin is a mysterious principle which only becomes personal in personal beings such as Satan, this is true also of death — since death is to be understood only in terms of what sin is. Paul believed with the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews that the devil has the power of death (Heb. 2:14) in that he has the power to cause sickness (2 Cor. 12:7) and the destruction of the fleshly body (1 Cor. 5:5); but he would say that

¹Cf. Aulén, op. cit., p. 83. Dealing with the drama of redemption in the Pauline epistles, Aulén writes, "Sin takes the central place among the powers which hold man in bondage, all the others stand in direct relation to it. Above all, death...is most closely connected with sin. Where sin reigns, there death reigns also. To be set free from sin through Christ is to be delivered also from death's dominion."

²It is, therefore, not entirely true to Paul's conception of the relation of death to sin to say with J. A. T. Robinson (The Body, p. 36) that sin "is the accomplice of death, the agent which gives it entry into the human situation" or with C. A. Anderson Scott (Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 51) that "behind Sin stood Death, which indeed made use of Sin as a means of effecting a lodgment in the human race." Paul did not conceive of death as a power which exists independently of sin as an

Satan also wields the power of death in a wider sense in that by deceiving persons into sinning he shuts them out from the life of God's glory (Rom. 3:23). Even a man can wield the power of death in this sense. Adam by sinning brought death on his descendants. Of course, Adam did not intend to bring death upon himself or others, whereas Satan gives to death a cunning intelligence and purpose. Therefore we are probably to think of the power of death as often personal in its manifestations but not in its essence.

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Let us now consider Pauline passages which appear to contradict the view of death as just presented. The most important is 1 Cor. 15:24 ff.:

Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death.

Paul here names *θάνατος* along with the principalities and powers as an enemy of Christ. Since there can be little doubt that Paul thought of the principalities and powers generally as evil angelic powers and, therefore, as personal; does he not imply that death is a personal power and a power distinct from other evil powers?¹ In terming it *ἑσχατος ἐχθρός* is he not picturing death as the arch-fiend, the supreme personal power of evil of this age? This is the position taken by M. Dibelius in Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus. He says that "*θάνατος* ist hier als persönliches

"accomplice" or as a power which uses sin as an "agent" or a "means" to its own ends. Sin is the "sting of death" in the sense that the power of death depends entirely on sin, its power is the power of sin.

¹Cf. H. Schlier, Principalities and Powers in the New Testament, p. 35. Death "is explicitly reckoned among the powers in 1 Cor. 15:26, where it is called the last enemy."

Geistwesen gedacht" and "als letzte und ärgste der Geistermächte dieses Kosmos."¹

That Paul here used language which suggests that death is a personal power in its essential nature cannot easily be gainsaid. It can be argued, however, that Dibelius' understanding of this passage fits in with the conclusions we reached about Paul's conception of death. Dibelius holds that *θάνατος* here is really equivalent to the conception which the Jews had long held of Satan as the one to whom belongs the destruction of body and life,² and our conclusion was that although Paul did not think of death as a personal power, yet his conception allows for personal manifestations of sin's power in beings like Satan who are instruments of sin in bringing death upon men.

Another and better approach to 1 Cor. 15:26 is to say that although it contains a special reference to that aspect of death which is mortality — since the leading subject of 1 Cor. 15 is the resurrection of the body — yet *θάνατος* here means death in its full scope as the whole condition of the cosmos under sin's sway. In v. 26 Paul has reached a major climax. "The last enemy to be destroyed is death": this speaks of the completion of Christ's struggle to redeem a lost creation. Now Christ is in a position to present his perfected kingdom to the Father, that God may be "all in all."³

¹P. 115.

G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, p. 44, says that in this passage "death seems to be ranked among the powers."

²P. 115.

³Cf. C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last, p. 102. "It was precisely the denial of this supremacy of God that was responsible for the fall, for the subjugation of man to the creation which he should have ruled, and for the distortion of his own nature; full restoration is accordingly possible only on the basis of 'God all in all'."

God had been "all in all" before Adam rebelled and death came upon the creation. When Christ has finally subdued all rebellion, all enmity, against God, then death will suddenly be no more. Therefore, Paul's conception of the death which came on Adam and all the cosmos when the Fall occurred is the conception of death which he has in mind here. If this is the case, Paul cannot be thinking of one personal power among other powers but of death as the sign and also the very substance of the effect which enmity towards God has wherever it is found. It can be said that in terming death "the last enemy" Paul is not intending to distinguish death from other enemies as simply primus inter pares. Death is not one, even the greatest, among other enemies, but it is that enemy which is faced wherever there is rebellion against God. As long as a single ἄρχῃ or ἐξουσία or δύναμις (v. 24) remains in opposition to God the great enemy θάνατος remains, but when the last pocket of resistance to Christ's rule is overcome then death itself will have been destroyed. Paul's special concern for the resurrection of the body is included in this interpretation because, as we have seen, Paul believed that only when the whole creation is finally liberated from the power of sin and death will the bodies of the saints also receive "emancipation" (Rom. 8:23). Resurrection of the body can come only with the emancipation of the whole cosmos from all forms of death.

Though we have been concerned to do full justice to the realism of Paul's language, it must be granted that Paul's language is often to be understood in a figurative rather than in a literal way. In Romans 5, for example, death is referred to as having "reigned" (vv. 14, 17). Since

the verb βασιλεύειν is normally used in the Scriptures in connection with the rule of God or men, Paul's use of it in connection with death suggests that death rules as a personal being. However, in the same chapter (v. 21) we find these statements: "sin reigned in death" and "that grace might reign". To say that "sin reigned in death" makes death an effect of sin and not an independent personal power alongside of sin; and to say "that grace might reign" shows that Paul could use βασιλεύειν in a figurative sense, since no one has yet held that Paul personified grace.¹

A passage in which M. Dibelius speculates² that we are to find death as a personal ruler is 2 Cor. 4:4.³ The "god of this age" is, according to Dibelius, θάνατος. He grants that it is valid to interpret this expression as referring to Satan as the one who unifies the spirit-world of this age, but he says that Paul does not use the term "Satan" here because his thinking in Second Corinthians 4:3 f. is dominated not by the dualism of good and evil, which is characteristic of Judaism and where the thought of Satan is native, but by a φθορά-ἀφθαρσία antithesis which is based on the Hellenistic dualism of spirit and matter. Death and the devil were bound together in Jewish thinking, since Satan was regarded as the destroyer of

¹Cf. Louis H. Taylor, The New Creation, New York, 1958, p. 60. "Romans 5:12; Here, as in the other references to δ θάνατος, death seems to some to be a personification of the terrible power of evil. This seems to me to be an overstatement of the case since several other abstract terms are also used with the article in this same section, and so far as I know none has ever treated 'grace', 'justification', etc., in any such manner."

²Geisterwelt, p. 118, "So is die Vorstellung vom persönlichen Tod bei Paulus nur 1. Kor. 15 sicher zu belegen; im übrigen sind wir auf Vermutungen angewiesen."

³Ibid., pp. 63 ff. 102 f., 115.

the body; but since the concept of Satan in itself has nothing to do with the age-concept it is best to think of Paul as here saying that death is the god of this world.¹

Now it may be that Paul thought of Satan as a form of enmity to God which transcends the limits of this present age, but how would this prevent Paul from thinking of Satan as the "god of this age"? The suggestion that in Paul's mind the term *δύνατος* had its context in a Hellenistic spirit-matter dualism while Satan is to be understood in the context of a Jewish dualism of good versus evil fails seriously to do justice to Paul's thinking about the relation of sin and death. The fact that Paul thought of Satan as the great instrument of sin for seducing mankind gives the very greatest reason for thinking of Satan as the "god" of an age dominated by "the law of sin and death". The immediate context of our passage shows that Paul had especially in mind a concern over the deceitfulness of those who opposed the gospel (2Cor. 4:2). Deceit is Satan's great weapon for seducing men. Who is it who sends false apostles to lead men astray if not Satan (2 Cor. 11:13 f.)? Paul used "god of this age" as perhaps the most forceful expression he could use to refer to the power of Satan in this evil age to turn the minds of men away from "the gospel of the *δόξα* of Christ" — which is the glory of the age to come.² So we may well conclude

¹Ibid., p. 115. "Der Name dieses Fürsten ist dort nur auf den Satan übertragen, der an sich mit der Äonenvorstellung nichts zu tun hat. Das Grundübel dieser Welt ist die *φθορά*. Darum ist der Gott dieser Welt der 'Tod'."

²Five out of the eight uses of the term "Satan" in the Pauline letters are found in the Corinthian letters. This is evidence that Paul did not hesitate to employ the term in the Hellenistic atmosphere of Corinth and is evidence that it would not occur to Paul that anyone in Corinth would misunderstand his reference to Satan.

that 2 Cor. 4:4 provides no evidence that Paul personified death as a demonic power distinct from other demonic powers.

A final passage which requires attention because it also carries the suggestion that death is a power in the same sense that angels and the principalities and powers are is Romans 8:38 f.¹:

For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

In this climactic statement of assurance which the man "in Christ" has Paul lists a number of things which might be thought capable of separating a believer from the love of God and thus destroying him. Death heads the list in which are to be found ἄγγελοι, ἀρχαί, and δυνάμεις, which Paul unquestionably thought of as literal powers.

How many other items in the list did Paul regard as real powers? If it could be demonstrated that Paul meant by all the terms following θάνατος literal powers, then there would be the strongest presumption that it also is to be thought of in this way. It is possible that ὕψωμα and βάθος refer in some way to astral powers, since Leenhardt notes, "Such terms belong properly to the language of astrology."² But this is very obscure, as Leenhardt says, because Paul could just as well have used the terms to refer to

¹Cf. G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, p. 44, "In Romans the law, sin, and death are personified as a trio of evil forces by which human life is held in bondage....It would be quite natural to think that these three are to be reckoned among the principalities and powers of which Paul speaks a little later in the same epistle." At this point Caird quotes Rom. 8:38-39.

²F. J. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. by H. Knight, London, 1961, p. 240.

enemy powers in the heavens and under the earth or simply to any possible enemy anywhere. "'Things present' and 'things to come' are not simply present and future in a general sense, but refer to this age and the age to come", says C. K. Barrett.¹ But how could Paul, who thought of the age to come as that age in which there will be no enemy powers, speak of it as something which might separate the believer from the love of God? Doesn't it seem more likely that Paul means by the two terms any experience in the present or the future, and that when he speaks of the future he is thinking specifically of the last judgment, to which he had just been referring (vv. 33 ff.). In any case, it seems that the two terms do not designate powers as such.

Of greater significance, however, in determining the meaning Paul gave to *θάνατος* is to determine the meaning he gave to *ζωή*, which immediately follows *θάνατος* and forms with it one of the pairs in the list. Now it is perfectly clear that *ζωή* is not the designation of an enemy power. The most typical use of *ζωή* in the Pauline letters is, as we have seen, as a designation of that eschatological reality which is the substance of the coming age of glory; but this cannot be his meaning here. Here it must refer to the whole of one's experience in this present life. Therefore, "neither death nor life" would appear to refer to anything which might happen to one in this present life or, if one is killed, anything which that experience could bring upon him. The "sword" has just concluded another list of things (v. 35) which are not able to "separate us from the love of Christ", and, applying words from Psalm 44 to himself

¹From First Adam to Last, p. 10.

and his fellow-believers, he has just written (v. 36), "we are killed all the day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered." This probably explains why death heads the following list and also indicates that when Paul used the term *θάνατος* here he was thinking of that aspect of death which involves separation from the body. In that case, the thought that death might separate one from the love of God would arise from the fear of believers, whether Greek or Jew, that the death of the body means that one goes to some kind of dark underworld existence. Passages such as 2 Cor. 5:1-9 and Phil. 1:20-24 therefore illuminate the thinking of Paul here.

The balance of evidence would appear to be against the idea that *θάνατος* in Rom. 8:38 designates a demonic power similar to the principalities and powers.

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Our conclusion is this: it is a mistake to speak as though Paul regarded death as one power among and distinct from other evil powers. To do so leads to a narrowing of Paul's conception of death. Death, for Paul, is a far wider 'reality' than Satan, or the flesh, or the Law, or any of the principalities and powers. These other powers as enemy powers are all manifesting sin's power, and in doing so are also powers of death.¹ Death has a unique relationship to sin. The other powers are real and powerful by creation. Death has 'reality' and 'power' only because of sin. Death

¹ Cf. H. Schlier, op. cit., p. 33, "In their nature the principalities present the universe and human life as a world of death. It is by subjecting them that death results. Through their nature they introduce death to the world, and so they show themselves as beings of death."

'is' in everything and in every circumstance where sin is involved. Death is the inevitable concomitant of sin and is the whole distorted condition of a cosmos in rebellion against God.

Important evidence for understanding Paul in this way will be found when (in chapter nine) we investigate Paul's teaching about the death of Christ. Paul viewed the death of the Son of God as God's all-sufficient means for rescuing his creation from the destruction which sin works. The implication of this doctrine is that death is not just one feature of sin's destructiveness but the whole.

CHAPTER FIVE

Death and the Law

In his polemics against those within the Christian community who insisted that fulfilment of the Mosaic law is requisite to salvation, the Apostle Paul on more than one occasion asserted that the Law leads to death rather than to the life of salvation.

While we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death (Rom. 7:5).

I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died; the very commandment which promised life proved to be death to me (Rom. 7:9 f.).

The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law (1 Cor. 15:56).

The written code kills, but the Spirit gives life....the dispensation of death, carved in letters on stone... (2 Cor. 3:6 f.).

How could Paul term the divine law ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου? The answer may shed light on his theology of death.

First of all, it is clear that such expressions did not spring from antipathy to the Law; but they express Paul's opposition to false claims for the Law, to a wrong understanding of its role in God's purpose. He who before his conversion regarded "righteousness under the law" as of consummate importance (Phil. 3:6) still honoured the Law as "holy and just and good" (Rom. 7:12) and affirmed that it was a great advantage to the Jews to have been "entrusted with the oracles of God" (Rom. 3:2; 9:4). He could even say that the redemptive purpose of God's sending his Son was "in order that the just requirement (δικαίωμα) of the law might be

fulfilled in us" (Rom. 8:4).¹ None of his strictures against the Law should be taken to mean that what the Law requires is inimical to the highest kind of Christian conduct.² In fact, a life of love is "the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. 13:10; Gal. 5:14), and lack of submission to God's law is enmity against God (Rom. 8:7).

Furthermore, though Paul asserted that "Christ is the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4), his teaching implies that even while Christ brought the reign of the Law to an end by dying on the cross for the sins of the world he affirmed the Law.³ The Law as an instrument of divine justice and holiness sentences the sinner to death, and it was that sentence which Christ took upon himself. Even though Paul taught that the Law did not come directly from God (Gal. 3:19 f.), it would be a mistake to think that Paul believed "the curse of the law" (Gal. 3:13) which Christ took upon himself in our behalf in his death was anything less than a curse from God. Paul was no sentimentalist in regard to sin. He held no brief for the view that God could set aside sins simply because of a gracious attitude towards sinners. His holiness cannot thus tolerate sin. God's promise to Noah to forbear destroying sinful mankind (Gen. 8:21 f.; 9:8 ff.) could be explained by Paul only in view of the

¹Cf. H. Kleinknecht and W. Gutbrod, Law (BKWK), trans. by D. M. Barton, London, 1962, p. 107, "Paul regards the fulfilment of the law through the Spirit in the believer as the real purpose of the law."

²Cf., *ibid.*, p. 108, "Paul considers what the law demands and 'the good' are the same."

³Cf., *ibid.*, p. 115, "The positive connexion between the law and Christ is preserved by understanding the cross as an affirmation of the law. Firstly, it affirms its verdict. Dying to the law, being crucified together with Christ happens precisely *διὰ νόμον* (Gal. 2:19)."

fact that God purposed to send Christ Jesus. "In his divine forbearance he had passed over former sins", yes, but only because of Christ Jesus, "whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood" (Rom. 3:24 f.).

It is in this very sense that the Law is ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου. It defines sin and condemns the sinner, and it prescribes death as the ultimate punishment.¹ Paul accepted the prescription of death in the Mosaic law for a variety of crimes as manifesting God's attitude towards sin. "The soul that sins shall die" (Ezek. 18:4) is the righteous judgment of God. No punishment short of death can show the heinousness and horror of man's rebellion against his Creator and man's violation of the divine holiness; and there can be no adequate expiation for mankind's sins short of the death of God's Son. Even that less explicit law written on the hearts of the heathen (Rom. 2:15) makes this truth known among the Gentiles: they realize that by God's decree they "deserve to die" for those sins found generally among them (Rom. 1:29 ff.). Paul did not question this function of the Law. He does not scorn the Law for being ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου; he is scornful of the idea that the Law is meant to give life to persons dead in sin. This is a function which the Law cannot possibly fulfil: "for if a law had been given which could make alive, then righteousness would indeed be by the law" (Gal. 3:21). If the Law could give life to sinners Christ would not have had to die on a cross. The Law makes known God's will and prescribes the punishment for those who defy God; it is not the function of the Law to save sinners.

¹In Rom. 2:12 to be "judged" is synonymous with to "perish". To "perish" is to be sentenced to death at the last judgment. So seriously did Paul understand the Law's judgment of sin.

The Law also makes sin known: διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας (Rom. 3:20). "If it had not been for the law I should not have known sin" (Rom. 7:7). The Law is serving a most important spiritual function when it makes known how exceedingly sinful sin is (Rom. 7:13) and when it makes clear that Jews as well as Gentiles are sinners, "so that every mouth may be stopped, and the whole world may be held accountable to God" (Rom. 3:19). Sin is deceitful and would keep its workings masked, but the Law unmasks sin and makes known the true dimensions of that power which works death in everything it touches. For, according to Paul, the Law reveals sin not only as certain actions and attitudes which make a man worthy of death but as a diabolical power which has enslaved all men and drives them to commit sins. The Law itself, as it serves this function, makes it very clear that men cannot achieve a saving righteousness by applying themselves to observance of the Mosaic commandments.

It is in this connection that Paul observed a second and more surprising way in which the Law makes for death rather than life. His letters make clear that he saw the Law, while making sin known, as actually serving to activate the power of sin in men and, therefore, bringing upon them the death which the activity of sin causes. "Apart from the law sin lies dead," but when confronted by the Law it springs to life (ἀναστῆναι, Rom. 7:8 f.). This is because the Law is "holy and just and good". Sin cannot tolerate its presence and so rages out against its commandments. In so doing it becomes glaringly evident, but, at the same time, the person in whom this happens dies (Rom. 7:9).

The flesh plays a special role in this connection. It is sin resident

in the flesh which is aggravated by the Law. The Law is πνευματικός, but the sons of Adam are σάρκινος — and being σάρκινος means that they are enslaved by the power of sin (Rom. 7:14). The Law challenges this dominance of sin, but it has no power to break sin's dominion (Rom. 8:3); it only succeeds in increasing sin's activity. The Law would, indeed, guide men to life (Rom. 7:10; Lev. 18:5), but in actual fact it is powerless before the power of sin in the flesh. The earnest devotee of the Law wills to give full obedience to it, but sin in the flesh defeats him; he may "delight in the law of God" only to find himself obeying another law, "the law of sin which dwells in my members" (Rom. 7:22 f.). By itself the Law only succeeds in making the situation worse; because by aggravating sin it only increases its death-dealing activity, leaving the devotee of the Law — if he understands his predicament — with the horrible realization of being given over to death (Rom. 7:24).

This line of teaching must have aroused great resistance in Paul's own day from almost every Jew, whether unbeliever or believer; and it makes understandable the deadly hatred which Paul so often inspired in his racial kinsmen.¹ Knowing how desperately Paul desired that the Jewish nation should be won for Christ (Rom. 9:1 ff.), we can be sure that this offensive conviction must have been very strong in him and must have seemed very important. His motive in urging such a view was, of course, to make as convincing as possible his case against those who compromised the gospel by insisting that salvation depends at least in part upon works

¹Cf. J. S. Stewart, A Man In Christ, London, 1935, p. 112 f., "Not only did the law reveal sin: it actually promoted sin....The amazed horror with which the average orthodox Jew would greet his statement may well be imagined."

of the Law -- or, putting it positively, to make it clear that though obedience to the law of God must be a fruit of the new life in Christ, it is entirely by grace that one is brought from the death of sin to the new life of righteousness. But what were his grounds for teaching that the Law actually incites sin and, therefore, causes death?

A passage which contributes much towards answering this question is

Rom. 7:7-11:

What then shall we say? That the law is sin? By no means! Yet, if it had not been for the law, I should not have known sin. I should not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, "You shall not covet." But sin, finding opportunity in the commandment wrought in me all kinds of covetousness. Apart from the law sin lies dead. I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died; the very commandment which promised life proved to be death to me. For sin, finding opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and by it killed me.

If one puts this passage alongside the account of the Fall in Gen. 3 the parallels are so striking that it becomes clear that Paul must have used Gen. 3 in a significant way when he composed it.¹ One can almost imagine Adam to be speaking in these verses in Romans.² "If it had

¹Cf. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans (MNTC), pp. 105 f., "The description of the fall into sin in verses 9-11 reads like an allegorical interpretation of the story of the Fall of Adam in Genesis....There are enough verbal echoes of the Greek translation of Gen. 3 to make it likely that Paul actually had the passage in mind."

J. A. T. Robinson's comment (The Body, p. 35) on Rom. 5:14 is: "Adam, since he knew the will of God for man, is regarded by Paul as pre-figuring humanity under the law, which was not given historically in the Jewish Torah till the time of Moses."

²Cf. Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the N.T., p. 248, "Paul undoubtedly thought of Adam as an historical individual.. ..But he writes as if Adam were not an individual man at all: for his theological purpose 'Adam' is still a collective noun. Adam for Paul is 'mankind', 'everyman', Paul himself."

not been for the law, I should not have known sin." This was the case with the first man and woman. The serpent begins his seduction by calling attention to the commandment, "Did God say, 'You shall not eat of any tree of the garden'?" The woman assures the serpent of God's wide generosity, but she has to admit, yes, that God was withholding one tree. In doing so she extended the prohibition a bit. God had forbidden eating of the tree, and she reported that they must not even touch it.¹ The story thus hints that the woman had now become conscious of God's word as law, as prohibition, in the sense that she began to feel the sting of bondage. God had imposed a small but irritating limitation. The first step had been taken towards a fall into sin.²

"I should not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, 'You shall not covet.'" It was through covetousness that the seduction was completed. The serpent convinced the woman that the limitation was not a small one, but God had, in fact, withheld the most desirable tree of all. She knew that she should not want that against which God had warned them; but that, somehow, only increased the new lustful feeling until covetousness became complete. To quote von Rad:

"'Good for food,' that is the coarsely sensual aspect; 'a delight to the eyes,' that is the finer, more aesthetic stimulus; and 'desired to make one wise,' that

¹Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis*, trans. by J. H. Marks, London, 1961, p. 86, "God did withhold one tree from man...but God did not say that it should not even be touched. This additional word already shows a slight weakness in the woman's position. It is as though she wanted to set a law for herself by means of this exaggeration."

²"Whatever does not proceed from faith is sin" (Rom. 14:23). When law becomes something by itself — when attention is called to it — it stimulates sin. The true life in God is the unconscious virtue of selfless love, which fulfils the Law while not serving it.

is the highest and decisive enticement (cf. I John 2.16, 'the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life')."¹

Looking back sadly to her sin, the woman (and, of course, Adam)² might well have later said with Paul, "But sin, finding opportunity in the commandment, wrought in me all kinds of covetousness."

"The very commandment which promised life proved to be death to me." The command given to Adam promised life in that it clearly implied a promise of immortality if obedience were given.³ The Mosaic law also threatened death for disobedience while promising life to the obedient.

"For sin, finding opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and by it killed me." This is a perfect description of what happened to the first man. The commandment not to eat of the one tree gave sin its opportunity through deceit to destroy his attitude of trusting obedience towards his Creator. Deceit is a favourite weapon of Satan in seducing men through the Law (cf. 2 Cor. 11:13 ff.).

"I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died." We have already seen that Paul interpreted the Genesis account of the Fall to mean that death came upon Adam the moment he sinned — death as separation from God, with all the evil consequences which flow from that separation.

¹Op. cit., p. 87.

²Cf. C. H. Dodd, op. cit., p. 105, "The serpent, subtly turning this command to his own ends, seduced Adam (through his wife — but, for Paul here, that is insignificant)."

³Cf. ibid., p. 105, "A command was given to him, intended to prevent him from forfeiting his immortality, according to the rabbinic interpretation."

The parallel between Adam and Paul is, of course, not complete. The commandment given to Adam could not have been regarded by Paul as simply identical with that given through Moses — the commandment against coveting, for instance. The big difference, however, is that Paul had always lived in a world in which the power of sin and its effects were dominant, while Adam had been at no such disadvantage before he sinned. Though Paul says that sin was "dead" and sprang to life in him only when the commandment came, yet sin had always been present to his experience and resident in his being. This was not true of Adam, since "sin came into the world" only as a result of Adam's rebellion (Rom. 5:12). It is surprising that Paul should have said that sin was "dead" at any time of his pre-Christian experience,¹ but he could not have meant that Adam and he started on the same footing. He had recently asserted that "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (Rom. 5:19); so he must have believed that sin had a hold on him from his birth in a way which it did not originally have on Adam.

It is true that some scholars believe Paul to have been strongly influenced by what later came to be the orthodox Rabbinic doctrine of the יָגוֹן יָסוּד (the "evil imagination" of Gen. 6:5; 8:21).² The rabbis held

¹He doesn't even say it concerning the man "in Christ". The closest he comes is when he says that believers must consider themselves "dead to sin" (Rom. 6:11); but that is a long way from saying that sin is dead. The struggle with sin continues as long as one is in the flesh.

²Cf. W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 26, "N. P. Williams is probably right then in saying, at least generally, that 'sin', 'the old man', 'the sinful body', 'the body of this death', 'the sinful passions aroused by the Law', 'the mind of the flesh' are all so many picturesque and paraphrastic names for the yétzer hâ-râ."

that the universal tendency to evil has always been in man. It led Adam to sin because Adam allowed himself to be led by it. This tendency to evil did not arise because of the Fall.¹ According to this doctrine Paul and Adam were on the same footing from the beginning.

These same scholars, however, recognize that Paul did not hold the doctrine in this form. N. P. Williams says that Paul has "stamped it with a threefold difference". First, Paul "has permanently welded into it the idea of the Fall of Adam as its source"; second, he no longer sees the evil impulse as residing in the heart but places it in the flesh; and, third, "for St. Paul the innate 'impulse towards sin' is unreservedly evil."² W. D. Davies says that "for Paul every man sins both because of his own submission to the yêtzzer and also because of the sin of the first man, Adam."³ According to N. P. Williams there were

two chief theories with regard to the origin of human sin which prevailed within the Jewish Church at the moment when Christianity came into the world — the popular and somewhat hazy theory of a primitive moral catastrophe and of some kind of hereditary corruption flowing from it, found in the Apocalypses, and the official, scholastic, and well-defined doctrine

¹Cf. N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin, London, 1927, pp. 69 f., "The question of the ultimate Origin of the 'evil imagination' can be dismissed in a few words. The origin of the evil yêçer is attributed by the Rabbis immediately to God: so immediately, in fact, that God is conceived, not as creating the yêçer in man at the beginning of human history, and leaving it to be propagated by heredity, but actually as implanting it de novo in the soul of every individual member of the race at the moment of his or her conception (or, according to some authorities, birth)....It follows from this denial of the continuous transmission of the evil tendency that the existence of the yêçer ha-ra' is in no sense due to Adam's transgression; on the contrary, Adam transgressed because the evil yêçer had already been planted in him by his Creator."

²Ibid., pp. 151 ff.

³Op. cit., p. 34.

of an 'evil impulse' planted by God in every human soul separately and individually which appears in the writings of the Rabbis.¹

Since Paul's thinking indubitably favours the first -- and in an unhazy way -- there is the strong likelihood that he rejected the second.

But what is the significance of this fact for our subject? If Paul's personal 'fall' was in a major way different from that of Adam's, what is the force of the parallel drawn between his experience and that of Adam? The answer is that it makes the force of Paul's thesis all the stronger. If sin was able to use the divine commandment to cause Adam's death when it had to operate, so to speak, from the outside, how much more inevitably will it 'kill' every descendant of Adam now that it operates from a privileged position within man's own being! If sin could use it as an instrument of death in Adam's case, how much more surely will it do so now that the Law is "weakened" by sin's possession of the flesh (Rom. 8:3). In short, we have a powerful illustration based on the Torah itself of the truth that the Law does not give life but is actually an instrument which sin uses to cause death.

The Rabbis who taught that it was God who implanted the יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ in each man declared that God also gave the Mosaic law as its antidote. God willed that man should experience the constructive effects of moral struggle but made sure that no man (or no Israelite) need fail in this struggle; because a persevering study to know and to do the Law will over-

¹Op. cit., p. 70.

come the inborn tendency to evil.¹ But Paul's teaching is that this is a complete misreading of the situation. It fatally underrates the power of sin and misunderstands the function of law. Law could not preserve Adam from sin even before he fell under sin's power; and now that man is under the power of sin all the Law can do is to make sin's power very evident. Only the grace of God in Jesus Christ can save from sin's power and give life to men dead in sin; and grace abounds just there where the Law has increased the trespass (Rom. 5:20 f.).

What then is the function of the Law? It is to unmask sin and to turn men to the love of God. It is to make sin vividly evident wherever it is to be found "so that every mouth may be stopped, and the whole world may be held accountable to God" (Rom. 3:19). The true dimensions of sin's dreadful power is manifested when it is seen that sin uses even what is "holy and just and good" to bring death. At the same time the folly of human arrogance is revealed, the utter insufficiency of man's righteousness is made known;² and it becomes manifest that only grace can give life.

¹Ibid., p. 62. Williams quotes "one of the most important Rabbinical sayings with regard to the yeḡer": "I created the evil yeḡer; I created for it the Law as a remedy. If ye are occupied with the Law, ye shall not be delivered into its hand" (Qiddushin 30 b).

²Cf. Law (BKWK), op. cit., p. 112, "Thus the law, rightly understood, simply prevents man's every effort to obtain righteousness in the sight of God in any other way than by faith in Christ Jesus, through the forgiving grace of God."

See also R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 265, "Thus, the Law brings to light that man is sinful, whether it be that his sinful desire leads him to transgression of the Law or that that desire disguises itself in zeal for keeping the Law....Thus, the Law leads into sin the man who has forsaken his creaturely relation to God and wants to procure life for and by himself; it does this in order thereby to bring him back again to the right relation to God. This it does by confronting him with the grace of God which is to be appropriated in faith."

This is well expressed by Nygren:

But Paul does not mean to say that God intended one thing through the law, but its effect actually turned out to be different and contrary. What he says here about the law also fits organically into his central idea that the law was given "so that the whole world may be held accountable to God" (3:19). When the law, which was given for life, leads to death and becomes a power of destruction which increases sin to transgression, it effects in that way that which God wants done against sin and the sinner. Like the wrath of God, the law also represents God's "strange work," which He must carry out, that He may later effect His "proper work," the work of which the gospel is the message. The law is the means by which sin brings man to death. God can permit sin to use the law in this way, He can permit it to kill man, because in His "proper work," in justification, He gives life to the dead.¹

We have seen that Paul associates the Law with death for two reasons: first, because the Law sentences the sinner to death in manifesting the righteous judgment of the holy God, and, second, in the process of unmasking sin it becomes the instrument of sin in bringing death upon man. A third reason can be discerned, which arises from the eschatological character of Paul's thinking. It is not to be thought of as entirely distinct from the first two, and it is especially related to the second. It is this: in the present age the law of sin and death is universally dominant, and everything which is an inherent part of this age is on the side of death rather than of life. The Law is an inherent part of this present world-order (or age),² and it is only as one is delivered from the bondage of the Law that one is also delivered from the power of death.

¹ A. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, p. 281 f.

² Cf. Law (BKWK), op. cit., p. 114, "The law is something which belongs to the characteristic permanent substance of this world and therefore cannot lead beyond this condition and give release from bondage to sin."

In writing to the Galatian churches, warning them against submission to the demands of those who insisted on circumcision and other requirements of the Mosaic law, Paul insisted that to be ὑπὸ νόμον is to be in slavery ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. Christ lived and died ὑπὸ νόμον in order that this slavery might end and men become instead sons of God, having the Spirit of God's Son in them (Gal. 4:3-7). To have the Spirit is to have something of the substance of that coming age of glory which is eternal life. To be given the Spirit is to pass from death to life, from the death which dominates the present age because of sin to the life which has the quality of the age to come. It is to "live to God". But one must die to the Law if he is to live to God (Gal. 2:19). That Paul thought of the Law as an inherent part of the present world which is doomed to pass away is shown by his teaching that to be united with Christ in his death is at the same time to die to the Law and to the world (Gal. 2:19 f.; 6:14) and to become a part of the new creation which transcends the Law (Gal. 6:15). To the Colossian believers Paul wrote that those who have died with Christ have died to the ^{τοῦ κόσμου}στοιχεῖα of the cosmos, and this is brought into question if they show signs of still belonging to the present world by submitting themselves to regulations (Col. 2:20) which Christ set aside (ἀφέναι) by his death (Col. 2:14).¹

Those who are a part of the new creation in Christ are no longer "in the flesh" but are "in the Spirit" and have come "alive because of righteousness" (Rom. 8:9 f.). This life-giving righteousness is the "fruit of the

¹Ibid., p. 114, "But apart from the death of Christ and from death in Christ, man is still ἐν κόσμῳ and hence handed over to the law (Col. 2:20)."

Spirit", produced because the Spirit liberates the believer both from the power of sin in the flesh and from the Law (Gal. 5:16-24). The sinful flesh and the Law are together parts of the old order. The grace of God in Christ overcomes the lordship of sin in the "mortal bodies" of believers and enables them to present themselves "to God as men who have been brought from death to life." This can happen because they are no longer under the Law: "For sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under the law but under grace" (Rom. 6:12-14).

In other words, death rules this present age because sin in the flesh is dominant, and the *δύναμις* of this domination by sin is actually the Law (1 Cor. 15:56). The victory which Christ gives is at one and the same time a victory over sin and over the Law, and this victory was wrought by his death and resurrection. Partaking in the death of his Lord, the believer dies to the Law's dominion (Rom. 7:4) and is freed from its curse (Gal. 3:13). Partaking in the resurrection of his Lord, the believer has already begun to share the life of Christ in the realm of glory (Eph. 2:6; Col. 3:1 ff.); and thus partaking in "the new life of the Spirit" he is freed from bondage to the Law which is also bondage to sin and so is enabled to "bear fruit for God":

Likewise, my brethren, you have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead in order that we may bear fruit for God. While we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death. But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we serve not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit (Rom. 7:4-6; cf. Gal. 5:18).

The new "dispensation of the Spirit" has dawned, which is a "new covenant" between God and his world. The old "dispensation of death carved in letters on stone," in which "the written code kills", has given way to the new "dispensation of righteousness" in which "the Spirit gives life" (2 Cor. 3:6-11). When anyone turns to Christ the Lord, "the veil" which obscures the inadequacy of the old covenant is taken away and the new freedom in Christ is revealed by the Spirit who is the Lord himself. Through the Spirit the believer is enabled to contemplate (or reflect) the glory of Christ and even to begin to share his glorious likeness. Thus the believer passes out of the realm of sin and death into the realm of righteousness and life (2 Cor. 3:15-18).

CHAPTER SIX

Spiritual Death

We have seen that Paul viewed death as the quality or condition of existence in the present evil age. Ever since the invasion of sin through the rebellion of Adam alienated the world from its Creator, death has dominated the whole of it. The dominance of death is not limited to one aspect. Life is of one piece by design of its Creator, and it must fall or be redeemed as a whole. Therefore in man's experience death is both spiritual and physical. Death is mortality, but it is also the darkness and distortion of spiritual experience which is at enmity with God. The sin of Adam not only made him mortal; it brought the whole of his experience into that condition of estrangement from God which is death. Likewise, victory over death is not to be achieved by granting to man a blessed immortality of the soul.¹ No, victory will not fully and finally come until the resurrection of the body — and that will not come except as the redemption of the body is a part of the redemption of the whole creation.

However, in order to understand Paul's theology of death we must also distinguish between different aspects of death — different facets of death's dominance. We must distinguish between death as mortality and death as that spiritual condition which is God-less.² One reason why we must so distinguish is that Paul conceived of victory over death

¹Cf. O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul, or Resurrection of the Dead?

²Cf. Otto Weber, Grundlagen der Dogmatik, I, p. 688, "Die Gotteseinsamkeit ist Tod." Also Gerald Vann, The Divine Pity, p. 24, "The wages of sin is loneliness, which is death."

as being achieved in stages. He taught that a person can be spiritually "alive" while still corporeally "dead" (Rom. 8:10); that is, the believer who has, in Christ, "been brought from death to life" (Rom. 6:13) because, like Christ, he now "lives to God" (Rom. 6:10; Gal. 2:19) is still, because he continues to be a part of the present aeon, as mortal as the greatest sinner. Death has been overcome in the spiritual dimension but will be overcome in the fleshly, corporeal dimension only at the resurrection.

But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness (τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζῶν διὰ δικαιοσύνην). If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you. (Rom. 8:10 f.)

This temporal order of sequence in the victory over death can be closely compared to Adam's defeat by death. In the very act of sinning he died spiritually — spiritual death was immediate;¹ but death's victory over him in a bodily sense was conclusively manifested only after many years.²

Just as immediately as Adam died when he sinned, just so immediately is spiritual life imparted to the person who in faith turns to Christ and becomes united with him in the Spirit. Christ has been raised from the dead "by the glory of the Father", and something of that life of glory is

¹Cf. Louis H. Taylor, The New Creation, p. 60, "When Adam sinned death (spiritual and ethical) was coincident with his transgression. This death is the instantaneous fruit of sin."

²Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, p. 36, "To die, for fallen man, is the sacrament and symbol of defeat by death: physical expiration is the outward confirmation of being in fact already 'dead' (νεκρός; Eph. 2.1)."

shared with the believer, raising him from the death of sin to "newness of life". The man who is baptized into the death of Christ arises from the waters of baptism to share in Christ's resurrection life (Rom. 6:1-4). Saving faith in Christ, whose death is the expiation for our sins (Rom. 3:25), is the reverse of Adam's self assertive rebellion and restores communion with God (Rom. 5:1), which is life.

Being resurrected with Christ as a present experience is an important theme in the Pauline letters. Since the resurrection of the body is postponed until the Parousia, the present resurrection is something which happens to the $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (Rom. 7:22; 2Cor. 4:16; Eph. 3:16) as distinct from the $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (2 Cor. 4:16). This is an inner, spiritual event as distinct from an outer, somatic, cosmic one. Death has lost its hold on the "inner man", which is receiving day by day renewal of life, even while the deterioration of the "outer man" shows it to be still in death's grip (2 Cor. 4:16).

The man in Christ is spiritually alive whereas he was spiritually dead.

And you, who were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses, having canceled the bond which stood against us with its legal demands; this he set aside, nailing it to the cross. (Col. 2:13 f.)

"God made alive together with him." This means that the man who is united with Christ shares the present life of glory in which the "last Adam" lives.

"If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above where Christ is....your life is hid with Christ in God" (Col. 3:1 ff.)

"But God...even when we were dead through our trespasses, made us alive

together with Christ...and raised us up with him, and made us sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 2:5 ff.).

Our concern is with the nature of that condition which this initial "resurrection" overcomes, i.e. with that aspect of death's dominion which we may properly call "spiritual" death; and we may say, first of all, that Paul's language reveals a conviction that spiritual death is a universal experience. He writes as if all the believers were spiritually dead before they came to Christ. "To the saints and faithful brethren in Christ at Colossae" he wrote: "And you, who were dead...God made alive." To "all God's beloved in Rome" he wrote that they should act "as men who have been brought from death to life" (Rom. 6:13). So also in Ephesians: "And you he made alive, when you were dead....even when we were dead" (Eph. 2:1 ff.).

Paul's language implies that the whole race of Adam's descendants are spiritually dead until given life through union with Jesus Christ, who defeated death's power by his death and resurrection. Does this mean that there had been no authentic spiritual life from the time of Adam's rebellion until the resurrection of Christ and the proclamation of the gospel? No, God's Spirit also granted life in the days of "our fathers" who "all drank the same supernatural (πνευματικός) drink.... from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ" (1 Cor. 10:1 ff.). They, however, did not know the fulness of life which is available in the church of Jesus Christ. Though the Pauline letters contain no specific reference to the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, their whole tone reveals a conviction that the church of Paul's day

enjoyed a fulness of the Spirit unknown in pre-Christian times — and it is the Spirit who gives life (Rom. 8:2, 6, 10, 13; Gal. 5:25). Paul undoubtedly believed that a person can be spiritually alive in various degrees of fulness. For example, the life of the perfected kingdom of God will greatly excel the gifts of the Spirit enjoyed by the church in the present period when the two ages overlap, the new having replaced the old only enough to give promise of what shall be (1 Cor. 13:8-12).

What causes spiritual death? The answer, of course, is that sin is the cause — not ignorance, for instance, but sin. "You...were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh." Paul believed that spiritual death is a universal experience because he believed every Gentile as well as every Jew to be "ὑφ' ἁμαρτίαν" (Rom. 3:9). Paul wrote to the churches as though they were made up of persons who had all passed from death to life — because made up of persons who had responded to a gospel proclaimed as the powerful answer to the power of sin.

"Dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh." Spiritual death is the result of sins which are caused by the power of sin in the flesh. Christ's redemption of the spiritually dead is achieved not only by removing the guilt of past sins which stand between God and the sinner but also by "putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ" (Col. 2:11). The grace into which the believer has "obtained access" (Rom. 5:2) is not only freedom from the guilt of specific trespasses but consists also in a new freedom from "the sinful body", which causes a slavery to sin (Rom. 6:6). The man who is spiritually dead is he who acts and thinks "according to the flesh" (Rom. 8:5 f.).

Everyone who exists in the present aeon does so as a *σῶμα* which is made up of flesh in which sin has a special source of strength. When the *ἐν σάρκει ἄνθρωπος* gives in to the power of sin residing in the flesh the man dies spiritually (Rom. 7:9). This happens to every person (especially when the law reveals the presence of sin in him) because sin's power is far greater than the psychic (1 Cor. 15:45 f.) power of man (Eph. 6:10 ff.). Only the power of God's Spirit is able to give the *ἐν σάρκει ἄνθρωπος* strength to overcome sin in the flesh. The man in Christ is given this strength because Christ is the expiation for the guilt of his sins and because Christ has come "in the likeness of sinful flesh" and "condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:3 f.). Christ, the last Adam, has taken the measure of sin's power in the flesh and deprived it of that claim over men which derives from the first Adam's submission to it; and, as a result, all who are united with Christ have his power (Rom. 1:4) — which is none other than the power of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 8:9) — to defeat the power of sin in the flesh. The *ἐν σάρκει ἄνθρωπος* is thus liberated from the dominance of sin and comes alive. The man in Christ is no longer "in the flesh", spiritually speaking. His *σῶμα* is still made up of sinful flesh and therefore is a *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. 6:6) and a *σῶμα τοῦ θανάτου* (Rom. 7:24); but this no longer prevents him from doing God's will as it did before. By the grace of Christ's power he can so live that sin no longer "reigns". Even the fleshly members in which sin's power still resides can become "instruments of righteousness" (Rom. 6:12 f.). The Spirit enables the man in Christ to "put to death the

deeds of the body", and thus he is no longer dead in sin: he is alive (Rom. 8:13). "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. 8:2).

Spiritual death, in summary, is the inner condition of a person who is "in the flesh" in the sense that the power of sin which resides in his flesh has control of his whole life. He "does not submit to God's law, indeed he cannot". However 'religious' his efforts might be, he "cannot please God" (Rom. 8:7 f.). He is enslaved to fleshly values which dominate his whole life.

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This leaves unanswered, however, some important questions as to Paul's thinking as to why and when every person experiences spiritual death. Is every person born spiritually dead? Or does spiritual death come upon him as a result of his own choices? When a person is spiritually dead, how much responsibility for this condition is Adam's and how much is his own? These questions, of course, raise issues of great importance to Christian theology.

Knowing the intimate connection in Paul's thinking between sin and death, we can be confident that if Paul believed that each person bears the guilt of Adam's sin then he must also have believed that each person is born spiritually dead. To sin is to be immediately alienated from God, which is spiritual death. If Adam sinned in our behalf in such a way that we bear the responsibility for that sin, then we all died spiritually in Adam and remain in that condition until something happens to each of us so that the guilt is removed and spiritual life is newly implanted.

But there are passages in the letters of Paul which raise doubt that such a construction is truly Pauline. There are the passages we have just noted in which Paul speaks of the believers as having been dead and in which he seems to put the blame, not on the primeval sin of Adam, but on their own sins: on the sins they were committing before they turned to Christ.

In Col. 2:13 Paul writes that the believers were dead through (dative of means) "trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh". This puts the emphasis on repeated sins which were causing the condition of death and on the dominance (uncircumcision) of their sinful flesh from which the sins arose. They were made alive together with Christ because God forgave ἡμῶν πάντα τὰ πηρωτήματα; here again the blame for spiritual death appears to be placed entirely on repeated sins of their own rather than on the one sin of Adam. There is really no hint of Adamic guilt. In Eph. 2:1, 2, 5 the believers are spoken of as having been dead by means of their sins, which arose continuously from an attitude of sinful worldliness and loyalty to the prince of evil. In Rom. 6:1-14, where the Apostle urges the believers to live as men alive from the dead, the difference between being spiritually dead and spiritually alive is the difference between being enslaved to sin (v. 6) and being dead to sin (vv. 2, 11), the difference between sin reigning in our bodies (v. 12) and our being able to use our "members" as "instruments of righteousness" (v. 13). Here again there is no reference to overcoming Adamic guilt, but the whole emphasis is on present spiritual-ethical issues.¹

¹J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, pp. 37 f., suggests a cogent argument against the idea of original guilt by taking the position that Paul, in

It might well be argued, however, that these passages are not conclusive in that they are not specifically addressed to the subject of how believers first became spiritually dead; they are exclusively concerned with overcoming a present situation which might have had its inception in Adam and been present at birth. But there is another passage which does speak specifically of the beginning of spiritual death, and, if it is taken at face value, does appear to be conclusive: "I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died" (Rom. 7:9). Paul seems to be saying that at one time, presumably as a child, he was not spiritually dead because he did not yet "know sin" (v. 7). Then when his conscience first became really aware of the demands of the Law sin became active in a way that caused him to "die". He was spiritually alive but sin "killed" him (v. 11). A fuller examination of this very interesting but somewhat cryptic passage will be given later in the chapter. For the present, however, it can at least be fairly said that the passage does seem to say that spiritual death comes upon a person as a result of sin's activity in his own life and that he is not born spiritually dead.

"bold, and almost barbarous phrases" teaches that Christ in his incarnation assumed "the body of flesh in its fallen state," identifying himself "to the limit" with man, yet without sin — whereas "traditional orthodoxy, both Catholic and Protestant, has held that Christ assumed at the Incarnation an unfallen human nature." If Robinson is correct about this, then it follows that Paul could not have believed in transmitted, or original, guilt, "which clearly could not be predicated of a sinless Saviour." Robinson calls K. Barth to his support, who in Kirkliche Dogmatik, I, 2, p. 167 says: "Er war kein sündiger Mensch. Aber seine Situation war innerlich und äusserlich die eines sündigen Menschen. Er tat nicht, was Adam tat. Aber er lebte das Leben, wie es sich auf Grund und Voraussetzung der Tat Adams gestalten muss....die Natur, die Gott in Christus angenommen hat, identisch ist mit unserer Natur unter Voraussetzung des Sündenfalls."

We must now turn to those two important chapters where Adam is specifically mentioned and which both say that men die because of Adam. In 1 Cor. 15 we read: "For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (vv. 21 f.). But are these words relevant; do they really deal with our present subject of spiritual death? One must be cautious lest he go too far in pressing the distinction between spiritual death and somatic death in the interpretation of Paul,¹ but we have seen that it is a valid distinction and needs sometimes to be made. The concern of the Apostle as he composed 1 Cor. 15 was obviously with somatic death and resurrection. The fact that he says that all those in Christ shall be made alive (ζωοποιήθῶσιν) shows that he is not directly concerned here with spiritual life as such; because there can be no doubt that he taught that such life is imparted to a person as soon as he turns in faith to Christ. So 1 Cor. 15:21 f. apparently does not help us to understand what Paul believed about the manner and time of the inception of spiritual death in each individual.

In Rom. 5 the situation is more complex. Here we read that "sin came into the world through one man and death through sin" (v. 12); that "many died through one man's trespass" (v. 15); that "the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation" (v. 16); that "death reigned through that one man" (v. 17); that "one man's trespass led to condemnation for all men" (v. 18); that "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (v. 19).

¹Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things, London, 1904, p. 113.

Paul is here laying great emphasis on the effect of one man's deed on all men in order to show how Adam is a type of Christ (v. 14). It serves his purpose to concentrate on Adam's responsibility for death's universal reign. In some places (as in v. 14) death as mortality is probably what Paul had primarily in mind rather than spiritual death, but this is not always the case — certainly not when he says that "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (v. 19). If Adam's sin resulted in other men becoming sinners, then Adam has a responsibility for the resulting spiritual death. This, however, suggests the possibility that what Paul intended is that Adam's rebellion is indeed responsible for the situation in which all men become sinners, but that spiritual death comes to each individual only when he himself comes to "know sin". In that case, Adam is not solely responsible; the responsibility is shared, so far as spiritual death is concerned, between Adam and everyone who is "in Adam"; spiritual death has not descended automatically on everyone apart from individual participation in the likeness of Adam's sin.

That this is Paul's meaning gains in likelihood from the fact that Paul is drawing a close parallel, in reverse, between what Adam did and the work of Christ.¹ Christ's "act of righteousness leads to acquittal and life for all men" (v. 18), writes Paul. Did Paul mean by this that the death of Christ has automatically resulted in justification and spiritual life for all men? No, of course not. His meaning is that the "last Adam" has by his death and resurrection fundamentally changed the situation confronting all men: now all persons of every people and every class (Gal.

¹Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the N.T., I, p. 252.

3:28; Col. 3:11) may freely become sons of God, knowing life in restored communion with God. But this actually happens only when men "receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness" (v. 17).¹ Paul believed that "one died for all; therefore all have died" (2 Cor. 5:14), but the life-giving effect of the death of Christ is really possessed only when a believer participates in the death of Christ by a very real dying to self (Gal. 2:20) and to the world (Gal. 6:14).² Salvation is to be attributed entirely to the work of Christ. It is not man's work at all, and yet it becomes salvation to the individual only when he responds to it in faith and becomes a "new creation". Paul's thinking is not friendly to automatic spiritual effects.

Very possibly, then, although he attributed the universal reign of death to Adam's sin he also believed that death does not lay a hand on the spirit of an individual descendant of Adam until that individual joins, in his own experience, in Adam's sin.

Paul does, in fact, expressly affirm in the opening verse of the passage in Rom. 5 which we are considering that although death came into the world through the sin of one man, yet "death spread to all men because (ἐφ' ὅ) all men sinned." It is not immediately clear, however, what use we should make of this statement. Interpretations of it have differed greatly, particularly because of uncertainty as to the meaning of ἐφ' ὅ.³ Augustine

¹Cf. Sanday and Headlam, Romans (ICC), p. 198, who correctly interpret the διὰ δικαιοσύνης of Rom. 8:10 as including "all the senses in which righteousness is brought home to man, first imputed, then imparted, then practised."

²For a discussion of this see chapter 10.

³For a useful summary of the various views see Sanday and Headlam on Romans (ICC), pp. 133 f.

took $\hat{\omega}$ to refer to Adam and the phrase to mean "in whom", understanding the Latin version "in quo omnes peccaverunt" in this way. Augustine's exegesis became the traditional one¹ and tended to give support to the Augustinian view of original sin, in which it is taught that every descendant of Adam was seminally present in the body of Adam,² thus sharing the guilt of his sin and being born spiritually dead. Most modern commentators, however, take $\hat{\phi} \hat{\omega}$ to mean "because",³ as it clearly does in Phil. 3:12 and in 2 Cor. 5:4.

If the latter interpretation is correct it would appear that Paul held a view of Adam's relation to his descendants not unrelated to that of the ^{syr/ac}Apocalypse of Baruch, a Jewish work⁴ probably written not long after the Epistle to the Romans.⁵ The writer of that work held that

¹Leenhardt, Romans, p. 144.

²City of God, (trans. by Marcus Dods), Bk. 13, Par. 14, "For we all were in that one man, since we all were that one man who fell into sin by the woman who was made from him before the sin. For not yet was the particular form created and distributed to us, in which we as individuals were to live, but already the seminal nature was there from which we were to be propagated; and this being vitiated by sin, and bound by the chain of death, and justly condemned, man could not be born of man in any other state."

³This is reflected in the standard translations. The A.V. and R.V. have "for that"; the R.S.V. and N.E.B. have "because".

⁴Cf. W. G. Kümmel, Das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament, Zürich, 1948, p. 37, "Man darf diesen Gedanken der eigenen Verantwortung jedes Einzelnen für seinen Tod nicht...eliminieren; dieser Gedanke ist dem Paulus wichtig, weil nur bei Festhalten dieser persönlichen Verantwortung der Mensch wirklich als für seinen Tod schuldig erscheint (vgl. Röm. 6, 20 f. 23). Und ausserdem folgt Paulus in dem Nebeneinanderstellen von Erbtod infolge allgemeiner Sündhaftigkeit und von eigener Verantwortung des Menschen für seinen Tod infolge seiner eigenen Sünde nur der jüdischen Tradition."

⁵Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, The Apocalypse of Baruch (Translations of Early Documents, series I, SPCK), London, 1917, p. xii.

Adam's sin brought death upon all who followed him in the form of a reduced life span. In transgressing the commandment Adam "brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him" (17:3). Because of Adam's sin "death was decreed against those who should be born" (23:4). This sounds as if Adam were solely responsible, but there is also to be found an emphasis on the responsibility of each descendant. "For though Adam first sinned, and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them hath prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again, each one of them hath chosen for himself glories to come" (54:15). "Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us hath been the Adam of his own soul" (54:19).¹ It is to be noted that the passages in which Adam's sin seems to be offered as the sole cause of death in his descendants the writer is speaking of human mortality, but where the responsibility of each descendant for his own fate is emphasized the writer² speaks rather of the effects of sin on the soul. The physical effects of Adam's sin in bringing early death on those born of him comes automatically upon all -- "death was decreed against those who should be born"; but this is not so of their spiritual destiny, for here "each hath become the Adam of his own soul."

This is also true of that closely related work, Fourth Ezra.³ Death

¹Quotations are from *ibid.*, trans. by R. H. Charles.

²Though this work is regarded as composite by some experts, see F. C. Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, London, 1914, p. 41, "So far as the Apocalypse of Baruch is concerned, I really do not see why it should be regarded as composite."

³There is an obvious literary relationship between the two, but it is not agreed as to which is primary. Cf. G. H. Box, The Apocalypse of Ezra (Translations of Early Documents, series I, SPCK) London, 1917, p. viii.

as mortality is decreed for Adam and his descendants immediately Adam sinned: "And thou didst lay upon him one commandment of thine; but he transgressed it, and immediately thou didst appoint death for him and for his descendants" (3:7). However, the Fall occurs again in the lives of the descendants when they sin: "O Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants. For what good is it to us, if an eternal age has been promised to us, but we have done deeds that bring death?" (7:118 f.). The context of this latter passage shows that the death which evil deeds bring consists in loss of the "eternal age" which has been promised and to have in its place "punishment after death" (v. 117).¹

This may well give us some guidance as to how we should interpret vv. 13 and 14 of Rom. 5 in relation to v. 12.² If we take $\epsilon\phi\omega$ to mean

¹Quotations are from the RSV.

²It is quite unjustified to presuppose that Paul necessarily held the same views as his Jewish contemporaries on anything, even though much recent scholarship finds Paul's thinking to be far more closely related to the Jewish than to the Hellenistic thought of his time; but it is reasonable to suppose that he continued to hold largely Jewish views after his conversion if his specifically Christian convictions did not change or replace them. Nygren, *op. cit.*, p. 208, in commenting on Rom. 5:12-21 takes an extreme view: "Whether Paul did derive a certain impulse from Jewish or Hellenistic ways of thought is a question whose answer is extremely difficult. We should not forget that Paul read about Adam on one of the first pages of his Bible; so it is not necessary to look for remoter sources from which the idea might have come. But be that as it may, it is entirely clear that the meaning of his thought about Adam and Christ is entirely different from either Jewish or Hellenistic concepts. It is rather the direct opposite." Even though it be true, however, that his thought about Adam and Christ is very different from the Jewish pattern, his thought about Adam and his descendants may still have some similarity to contemporary Jewish views. It would hardly be identical, though, because his view of sin, as we have before noted, was more radical — though G. H. Box (*op. cit.*, p. xi) speaks of passages in 4 Ezra as betraying "an almost Pauline sense of the universality and devastating effects of sin."

"because", indicating that Adam's descendants share the responsibility for the fact that death has spread to all of them, why is it that in vv. 13 and 14 Paul's intention seems to be to prove that death reigned over all generations between Adam and Moses without their really or fully deserving it?¹ The answer may be that *θάνατος* in v. 14 has a narrower meaning than it has in v. 12. That is, in v. 12 where Paul has in mind the Genesis account of the Fall he is giving *θάνατος* its widest sense² as all the effects — cosmical, somatic, and spiritual — of sin's activity in the world, while in v. 14 he is referring to the somatic fact of universal mortality alone. Verse 12 has the tone of a sweeping assertion of wide significance, while the next two verses have more the ring of a measured argument of support for the sweeping assertion. Verse 12 contains a whole world-view of enormous significance, but like other world-views it is not self-evident. The next two verses provide a proof of the main point in v. 12, with v. 14 providing a self-evident fact: no one who lived in the period between Adam and Moses was yet alive.³

¹Cf. Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 134, on v. 13, "At first sight this seems to give a reason for just the opposite of what is wanted: it seems to prove not that *πάντες ἥμαρτον*, but that however much men might sin they have not at least the full guilt of sin."

²Cf. Augustine, *City of God*, Bk. 13, Par. 12, "When, therefore, it is asked what death it was with which God threatened our first parents if they should transgress the commandment they had received from Him, and should fail to preserve their obedience, — whether it was the death of the soul, or of the body, or of the whole man, or that which is called second death, — we must answer, It is all."

³Is not Enoch (Gen. 5:24) an exception to the statement in v. 14? It is an interesting and curious fact that although Malachi testifies to an interest in the translation of Elijah and the apocalyptic writers took a great interest in Enoch, there seems to have been no tendency to use these two O.T. exceptions to the rule of mortality as a basis for speculation or

Now, if in verses 13 and 14 Paul has death as mortality in mind he is, with the Apocalypse of Baruch and Fourth Ezra, revealing the view that Adam's sin by itself has so changed human nature as to make all men mortal. But if in v. 12 he has all forms of death in mind — including, especially, spiritual death — he feels required to add that the responsibility for the spread of death in this wider sense is shared by all men. He could do no other than add this. Though he was wanting to put all possible emphasis on the effects of one man's deed on all men, he would have been untrue to the central and intense ethical concern of his Jewish heritage and Christian faith (eg., Rom. 2:6-11) if he had taken the position that even spiritual death — alienation from God — comes upon a man with no actual responsibility of his own for it.¹

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Perhaps we can now attempt to picture the pattern of Pauline thought in which universal mortality is attributed to Adam's sin but in which spiritual death is seen coming upon each man only as he actually joins Adam in his primeval sin of rebellion against the Creator.

hope that death can be evaded or overcome. Cf. R. H. Charles, Eschatology, 2nd ed., London, 1913, p. 56, "These translations of Enoch (Gen. v. 22-24) and Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11) are essentially miraculous in character, and on such exceptional incidents, therefore, the doctrine of a future life for man as man cannot be built....The belief in such translations does not controvert the ancient view of Sheol as a place whence none can return. It probably springs from a time when the authority of Yahweh was still limited to this side of the grave, and the dead were regarded as beyond the exercise of his grace. The dead were beyond recall, but the living could be raised to immortality — that is, to an immortality with the body, not without it, before death, not after it."

¹Cf. Nygren, Commentary on Romans, pp. 214 f., "If Paul had meant that all became subject to death because of the sins which they themselves committed, the conclusion would logically be that all would enter into life

When Adam rebelled against his Creator he made it possible for sin to enter into the world and to operate from a position of strength within the creation. That position of strength is the flesh. Now man is a being of flesh, but he has also a more inner, spiritual side to his nature. Sin does not exercise the same kind of power over this inner part of his nature as it does over the somatic side of his nature, which is of flesh.¹ That which every person inherits from Adam is not the guilt of Adam's sin but the somatic situation in which his life must be

by reason of the righteousness which they themselves achieved. That is an idea which is certainly the utter opposite of all that Paul says. If we are to keep the translation 'because all men have sinned,' we shall have to understand it as Augustine did, 'all men have sinned in Adam.' In any case, this much is settled for Paul: humanity's fate rests on what happened in him who was its head and representative. Any interpretation that dilutes that thought, or departs from it, is definitely false." Certainly Nygren is here over-simplifying the Apostle's thinking.

As to Augustine's understanding of Rom. 5:12, cf. N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin, p. 157, "St. Paul knows nothing of a mystical or pre-natal participation of Adam's posterity in the sin of their first father, nor of the idea that inherited, and therefore involuntary, infection with 'concupiscence' is in itself deserving of punishment, even prior to and apart from actual offences; in other words, he knows nothing of the conception of Original Guilt."

Cf. also Kümmel, Das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament, p. 37, "Aber so richtig es ist, dass in Röm. 5, 12 Adam und Christus als Kollektivpersönlichkeiten gesehen sind, so wenig lassen sich der Uebergang von εἰς zu πάντες und das ἐφ' ᾧ = 'weil' beseitigen, indem man πάντες in der 2. Vershälfte einfach dem εἰς der 1. Vershälfte gleichsetzt; die Begründung der Allgemeinheit des Todes in V. 12 d ist eben eine andere als in V. 12 b."

¹Cf. N. P. Williams, *ibid.*, p. 139, "What distinguishes St. Paul's ideas with regard to the subject of innate sinfulness from those of the other thinkers whom we have noticed up to this point, is the fact that he confines the seat of the inbred evil rigidly to the 'flesh,' apparently exempting the 'soul' and the 'spirit' from any sort of inherent taint, and only conceding that they may be polluted as it were per accidens, by the maleficent influences arising out of their physical substratum."

Ibid., p. 145, "This real self, the 'inner man,' or the intellect (νοῦς), is strongly asserted to be morally sound, perfectly cognisant of the commands of the Law and perfectly loyal to them; the whole blame for the aberrations of his actual conduct is laid upon 'the flesh,' or 'the

lived. His body inherited from Adam is a *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. 6:6), and being a body dominated by sin in the flesh it is a *σῶμα τοῦ θανάτου* (Rom. 7:24). The body is securely under the power of death from birth because it is a body of flesh in which sin has its stronghold. Every man is mortal because every man inherits a mortal body from Adam and not because every man sins.

But it is different with spiritual death; because this is not inherited from Adam. Not until a person defies God does spiritual death become his lot. This, however, every man does do -- with the single exception of Jesus; and the reason why every man comes to defy God is because of the great power of sin residing in his "members" (Rom. 7:23). Because they are his members. It is not a matter of small consequence what a man is somatically. Man was created a somatic being, and this will be his nature for ever. He cannot live a truly human life apart from his body and will partake of the fulfilled kingdom of God only as he does so with a redeemed body. Though man's nature has both inner and outer aspects, he is not a duality in the sense that the two aspects are fundamentally opposed to each other or independent of each other. It is not true to say, as the gnostics taught, that man's essential nature is entirely spiritual and his dwelling in a body only a temporary and incidental thing. Man's bodily life is not, as the gnostics would have it, a punishment for a wrong choice before birth; but bodily life is his true

flesh' as controlled by 'Sin.'"

Ibid., p. 152, "When, therefore, St. Paul transfers the seat of innate evil from the 'heart' to the 'flesh,' he is to be understood -- so far as his words go -- as exempting the mental and psychic life of man, even in its subconscious processes, from the infection of sin, and concentrating this almost exclusively in the physical body."

created nature. He is what he is somatically.¹ In Rom. 7, for example Paul distinguishes between inner (ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ, v. 22; νοῦς, vv. 23, 25) and outer (σάρξ, vv. 18, 25; μέλη, v. 23) parts of human nature, but that the outer part is constituent to man's real nature is indicated by the fact that Paul repeatedly speaks of the self as being fleshly and therefore under sin (v. 14). He does not say that his body is σάρκινος² but that he himself is (ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι). That is why he is a sinner. He can, in the inner part of his nature approve of the Law and want to keep it, but what he actually does is against the Law. Since the "law of sin" is in his members he himself has become a captive to that power (v. 23). It is he himself (αὐτὸς ἐγώ) who both serves the law of God with his mind and the law of sin with his flesh (v. 25). To make a distinction between mind and flesh is not to assert that one is more distinctly the self than the other. The power of sin is the only factor which is foreign to the self (vv. 17, 20).

As a result, therefore, of the somatic situation inherited from Adam, every son of Adam is not only mortal: each has also become a sinner. The

¹Cf. N. P. Williams, *ibid.*, p. 149. According to Williams, "the Fall-theory and dualism are in principle, and always have been in history, mutually exclusive hypotheses." See also *ibid.*, pp. 7 ff.

²Sanday and Headlam, *Romans* (ICC), p. 181, say that σάρκινος "denotes simply the material of which human nature is made." N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin*, p. 141, says that σάρκινος "merely, means 'made of flesh,' and should be carefully distinguished from σαρκικός, 'carnal' in the bad sense." In other words, man as a somatic being consists of flesh, which is not essentially evil but which in the present evil age is the stronghold of sin.

Cf. however, Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the N.T.*, p. 750, "Our lit. or at least its copyists, did not observe this distinction in all occurrences of the word. The forms are interchanged in the tradition."

"law of sin" is more powerful than the "law of the mind" and inevitably prevails (v. 23). The rebellion of Adam has resulted, therefore, not only in the mortality of his descendants but has also created a situation in which his descendants are "made sinners" (Rom. 5:19). They are born with the power of sin so dominant in the somatic side of their nature that they have insufficient power to resist it and the power of sin resident in their members determines their actions.

Why not say then that men are born spiritually dead? Surely one who has beheld the holiness of Christ will not deal less seriously with sin than the psalmist who said, "In sin did my mother conceive me" (Ps. 51:5). There can be no doubt that Paul subscribed to the view that sin's power has been present in every person from his conception. It would be a blind sentimentalism uncharacteristic of Paul to picture even the youngest child as free from the movements of sin. But it also appears to be true to say that one is not dealing with the awesome reality designated by the term "spiritual death" with all the seriousness Paul gave to it if he attributes it automatically to infants.

Of course, if, as the result of concluding that it would be a mistake to attribute to Paul the doctrine that every person is born alienated from God, that is not to say that an infant has the kind of 'life' which flows from a positive righteousness. An infant does not have the kind of life which Adam knew before his fall and certainly not the 'life' which is enjoyed by a Christian saint. Even less is it the life of glory which shall be. But the child is alive in the sense that he has not yet experienced that 'death' which comes from rebellion against God. The kind of

knowledge (experience) of sin which results in sin so aggravated as to "kill" the spirit of a person: this comes only through knowledge of the Law. It is sin aroused by the Law which kills. Not only is it true, according to Paul, that there is no guilt where there is no law (Rom. 5:13);¹ sin is inert, incapable of killing, until aroused by the Law (Rom. 7:8 f.).

It is the Law which brings out in aggravated form the sin of self-assertive resistance to God which was the sin of Adam. When Christ removed the veil from Paul's understanding (2 Cor. 3:14 ff.) he saw that his zeal for the Law had led him into nothing less than hatred towards God² and towards the Messiah. Contemplating his own experience in the

¹Cf. N. P. Williams, *ibid.*, p. 133. Commenting on Rom. 5:12-21, Williams says, "It should be added that there is nothing in this passage which implies that 'suppressed sinfulness' actually involves guilt in the sight of God, previously to and independently of the commission of actual sin; and, indeed, the phrase in v. 13, 'sin is not imputed where there is no law' (ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἐλλογεῖται μὴ ὄντος νόμου), would seem to deny by anticipation the later Augustinian conception of 'original guilt,' at any rate in the case of the pre-Mosaic men. If we may judge by his general usus loquendi, St. Paul shares the opinions of the 'plain man' on this point. The word 'guilt,' with the whole apparatus of forensic terminology to which it belongs, 'judgment' (κρίμα), 'condemnation' (κατὰ κρίμα), 'acquittal' (δικαίωσις), and the like, is only applicable to voluntary and responsible actions, that is, to actual sins."

²Cf. G. Quell, *et al.*, Sin (BKWK), trans. by J. R. Coates, London, 1951, pp. 75 f. Paul's conversion experience caused him to realize that his sin of persecuting the church of God was "the final result of his zeal for the Law, his endeavour to attain to salvation along the path of self-righteousness by works of the Law. The judgment upon persecution of the Church of God was also judgment upon that zeal for the Law. When that dawned upon him, he realised that all his Jewish practices were a striving against God's will and amounted to active enmity against God. 'Man's determination to manage by himself' is really striving against God's will. From the hour in which that became clear to him, he remained convinced that sin is not merely an offence against divine majesty -- the Jew goes that far -- but is active hatred towards God, hostile opposition to his will, on the part of man in his determination to live for himself and manage by himself. This thought of hatred became the constitutive element in the Pauline conception of sin."

light of his new understanding, he concluded that the Law had always served to bring out in him sinful ἐπιθυμία (Rom. 7:7 f.)¹ — that self-serving πλεονεξία which is as the sin of idolatry (Col. 3:5).² It was by means of the Law that sin had come fiercely alive in him and had caused him to participate in that dread sin of Adam and so to bring upon him that same experience of spiritual death which came upon Adam (Rom. 7:7-11).

Since our attempt to reconstruct Paul's thinking about spiritual death depends greatly on Rom. 7:7-11, and since commentators differ considerably as to the interpretation of this passage, it will be well to give special attention to it.

The usual interpretation is that Paul is remembering a time when, as a youth, he lived a life of spontaneity and joy, untroubled by the terrifying demands of the Law; and then there came a time when his conscience awoke to God's law and he became conscious of his resistance to God's will, causing a misery to descend upon him which was a transition from life to death. This interpretation holds that Paul makes an auto-

¹Cf. *ibid.*, p. 79, "Desire (ἐπιθυμία) is not to be limited to the sensual or sexual sphere, but must be understood in a comprehensive sense as the mania for self-assertion over against the claim of God, which bursts into flame when challenged by the commandment. Here is the nerve of every kind of sin, from the primal flouting of God (Rom. i, 21) to the sexual perversions and anti-social crimes and all that further sinning which Paul sees as the divine punishment of sin (Rom. i, 24-31; I Thess, ii, 16). It is from this point of view that every single sin committed in this world assumes importance before God, and the sinner is found guilty."

²Cf. Leenhardt, *Romans*, p. 185, "The prohibition against covetousness is the very essence of the law because covetousness is the impulse which subjugates man to things and leads him to make of things his gods."

biographical reference because his own experience is merely an example of the universal experience of both nations and individuals as they move from a kind of joyful innocence into the tension and misery which comes from greater knowledge and responsibility, from carefree childhood to the troubled sensitivity of adolescence. Sanday and Headlam have taken this position:

We may well believe that the regretful reminiscence of bright unconscious innocence goes back to the days of his own childhood before he had begun to feel the conviction of sin.¹

He is describing the state prior to Law primarily in himself as a child before the consciousness of law has taken hold upon him; but he uses this experience as typical of that both of individuals and nations before they are restrained by express command. The 'natural man' flourishes; he does freely and without hesitation all that he has a mind to do....The frieze of the Parthenon is the consummate expression of a life that does not look beyond the morrow and has no inward perplexities to trouble its enjoyment of today.²

It can be cogently objected that this interpretation attributes to Paul a kind of romanticism which is hardly characteristic of him. It involves a sentimentalized and false picture of the supposed happiness of the 'natural man' and of childhood which Paul would be quick to reject. Furthermore, this interpretation stresses a person's feelings rather than spiritual actuality -- it speaks of the misery which the Law generates in a person who has grown sensitive to its demands while what Paul is actually writing about is how the Law serves to increase sin's activity in a

¹ Sanday and Headlam, Romans (ICC), p. 186. Cf. C. Gore, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, I, London, 1900, p. 246.

² Ibid., p. 180.

person's life. Paul says that sin used the commandment to deceive him, but this interpretation says that the Law awakens in him a conviction of his spiritual need. If the interpreter of Paul feels that he can and must provide a psychological explanation of Paul's conversion, then he will want to take this passage as evidence that Paul was very dissatisfied with his life under the Law. But it seems likely that Paul's own understanding of his spiritual history would emphasize that it was Christ who first revealed to him the inadequacy of his righteousness under the Law: that before he met Christ he was deceived into thinking that he was blameless under the Law (Phil. 3:6).¹

R. Bultmann has effectively expressed this objection while giving his exposition of Paul's teaching about the Law:²

Though the purpose of the Law is, or was, that of being a paidagogos to Christ, it is not conceived in either the Greek sense or the modern sense as an educator who is to train man up to a higher level of mental (an especially of ethical) life. Is faith opening up to divine grace the product of education? Of course not. It does not even become possible except upon the basis of God's grace working in Christ. The "educating" done by the Law leads, on the contrary, into sin, and "educates" indirectly toward faith, it is true, because by it the sinner can understand the al-

¹There is probably a tendency to interpret Paul's experience in the light of Luther's. There is a vast difference, however, between the spiritual situation of a Christian monk and that of a Pharisee of the first century. Cf. Leenhardt, The Epistle to the Romans, p. 181, "Nothing compels us to believe that Paul was Lutheran on this point. The text and the whole context of this chapter [Rom. 7] in fact preclude the hypothesis."

²R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, p. 266.

Cf. F. J. Leenhardt, Romans, London, 1961, p. 181. "The conversion of Paul was not that of a heart devoured by remorse for its acts of disobedience, but rather that of a proud soul exalting itself before God because of its obedience to the law."

Cf. also TWNT, II, p. 355, "Das Damascuserreignis ist demnach nicht die Bekehrung eines verzweifelten Sünders, sondern die Berufung und Überwindung des selbstherrlichen Pharisäers."

ternative -- either works of the Law or faith -- when grace confronts him. But the Law does this not by leading man into subjective despair, but by bringing him into an objectively desperate situation which he does not recognize as such until the message of grace hits its mark in him. Gal. 3:21-25 does not have the development of the individual in mind but the history of mankind, and Rom. 7:14-24 is not a confession of Paul describing his erstwhile inner division under the Law, but is that picture of the objective situation of man-under-the-Law which became visible to him only after he had attained the viewpoint of faith.

C. H. Dodd, while admitting that it involves an unrealistic view of childhood ("We speak of the 'age of innocence,' but the little innocent is in actual fact greedy, interfering, quarrelsome, completely regardless of the rights or conveniences of other people")¹ adopts the common interpretation:²

Paul means 'I was alive' -- 'I lived my own life,' with powers and faculties at full stretch. He is describing a happy childhood -- happier and freer in retrospect, no doubt, than it ever really was....Soon, however, in a Puritan home like Paul's, 'shades of the prison-house begin to close upon the growing boy.' He became aware of the precepts and prohibitions of the Law.

It should be pointed out that in his exposition of v. 8, quoting from Augustine's Confessions the famous account of the pear-stealing incident, Dodd provides some effective evidence in favour of Bultmann's approach to our passage:³

They were nice pears, but it was not the pears that my wretched soul coveted, for I had plenty better at home. I picked them simply in order to be a thief. The only feast I got was a feast of iniquity, and that I enjoyed to the full. What was it that I loved in that theft?

¹C. H. Dodd, Romans, (MNTC), 1932, p. 111.

²Ibid., pp. 110 f.

³Ibid., p. 109.

Was it the pleasure of acting against the law, in order that I, a prisoner under rules, might have a maimed counterfeit of freedom, by doing with impunity what was forbidden, with a dim similitude of omnipotence?¹

Augustine at sixteen years of age² was not being made miserable by law.

It was not arousing conviction of sin; the law against theft was, instead, used by sin to produce a wantonly sinful act which produced joy in sin, an arrogant sense of godlikeness. Law was used by sin to deceive. Only much later, when God brought him to grace, did Augustine understand this deception. So it may well be that Paul, in Rom. 7:7-11, is not referring at all to feelings of the Law's oppressiveness but only to the fact that the Law caused the power of sin in him to spring into vigorous, spirit-killing activity -- a fact which he came to understand only after his conversion.

Calvin, as could be expected, did not think that Paul remembered an "innocent" childhood, when he was unaware of the demands of the Law. He reminds us that Paul must have been instructed in the Law from his earliest years. No, says Calvin, this reference to being "alive apart from the law" is rather a kind of bitter sarcasm against self-righteousness. "Although he was inflated by confidence in his own righteousness, he claimed to have life when he was really dead."³ This explanation disposes of our problem as to what Paul meant by saying that he was once alive, but it gets the interpreter into great difficulty with the rest of v. 9. Calvin takes "when the commandment came, sin revived and I died" to mean:

¹Translated and abridged by Dodd from Confessions II, 4-6.

²Confessions II, 6.

³Epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Thessalonians, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1960, p. 144.

"It therefore 'awoke' sin from the dead, because it showed Paul how great was the depravity which abounded in the innermost parts of his heart, at the same time it put him to death." "Put him to death" refers to the shattering of "the intoxicating confidence in which hypocrites repose." Calvin leaves his readers uncertain as to when the Law did this for the Apostle. He says of Paul "as long as his eyes were veiled while he lacked the Spirit of Christ, he was satisfied with the outward mask (larva) of righteousness"; which implies that "sin revived and I died" refers to Paul's conversion experience. This is quite unsatisfactory.

There are commentators who deny that Paul is being autobiographical. Leenhardt,¹ for instance, says that Paul is following "a proceeding which has become obsolete but which was very familiar to Paul and his contemporaries"; he is using the "I" as a collective pronoun.² Some of the Hebrew Psalms provide an example of this, in which the poet appears to be writing of his own experience but is really speaking for the whole of Israel. Paul is speaking for "all the heirs of Adam considered in their collective condition." This is why Paul constructs vv. 7-11 in terms of Gen. 3: "The thought of Paul goes back to the position described in Gen. 3: the man Adam hears the word of God. Thanks to the law, the situation is once more the same, and this is the underlying reason why the apostle

¹F. J. Leenhardt, Romans, pp. 180 ff.

²Cf. TWNT, II, pp. 354 ff. Stauffer, in his treatment of ἐγώ, offers an interpretation of Rom. 7 and 8 in terms of "Heilsgeschichte". Three steps are to be seen: first, humanity before the Mosaic law was given; second, Israel under the Law; third, the Christian believer under the Spirit. The "I" of Rom. 7 is the Israelite under the Law as understood by the Christian.

describes the function of the law in terms clearly reminiscent of the Genesis story." But Leenhardt would appear to think that Paul did not mean his reference to the Genesis story of Adam to be taken very seriously because when dealing with Paul's statement "I was once alive apart from the law" he says: "He lives a life that is devoid of quality or authentic value. He is so deeply ignorant of his real situation that he thinks it satisfactory and without danger. He may say that before the law came, he lived. The remark is imbued with irony." But, according to Genesis, the life of Adam before his rebellion was a wonderful life of fellowship with God, making his subsequent spiritual death the more horrible. Perhaps Leenhardt feels required to adopt this interpretation because he believes that the Adam story must be treated as purely mythological. This Paul certainly did not do.

E. Brunner also asserts that Paul is not being autobiographical, nor is he describing psychological experiences, but from the viewpoint of the Christian faith he is giving a theological analysis of the spiritual situation of mankind in general and individually:¹

I was once alive without the Law. What is meant by this 'once'? Childhood? Is Paul telling us of the various periods of his life? Apart from the fact that this would be very strange in the case of Paul, it can hardly be materially harmonized with his explanations. Paul rather shows, in saying 'I', how matters stand with man and humanity in general; he is not relating a story, but is interpreting through faith the history of mankind as the history of each individual. The passage is thus to be understood neither psychologically nor biographically nor world-historically, but theologically....Sin is in the world, it does not just arise. But the individual person is as yet not a sinner. Sin is dead for him at first, thus he on the contrary is alive. Now comes

¹ Emil Brunner, The Letter to the Romans, London, 1959, p. 59.

the Law and along with it sin. It revives with the arrival of the Law.

The above survey of opinions about the meaning of Rom. 7:7-11 reveals a considerable lack of consensus. In light of the rather wide differences of opinion, any person offering his interpretation would do well to do so with humility. However, Paul did mean something by these words and we must continue to probe them for their intended meaning. The present writer feels that the true interpretation must conform to the following positions: First, Paul was not, when speaking of being alive and then dying when the Law came and sin revived, concerned to describe certain feelings he had experienced; his intention was rather to give a theological understanding of substantive spiritual events. Second, his understanding of these events came only with faith in Christ. Third, his intention was to characterize universal spiritual experience, including his own. Fourth, Paul had Adam very much in mind and was thinking of Adam's rebellion as an event which profoundly affects every man both because Adam was our representative and because we each in our own lives and by our own choice participate in that rebellion.

In other words, when he speaks of having been spiritually alive and then having been killed by sin activated by Law¹ he meant seriously just what he said — his language was not intended as a dramatic metaphor

¹See R. Bultmann, The Theology of the N.T., I, p. 250, "Although, judging from the whole train of thought in this epistle, Paul is thinking only of the Jewish Law, the same holds true for the Gentiles, too, among whom the place of the Law of Moses is taken by the demands of conscience (Rom. 2:14 f.). And it is quite possible that in Rom. 7:7-11 Paul has Adam in mind, the prototype of mankind, who, of course, also lived without the Law of Moses."

to describe vivid remembered feelings, nor was he being ironical. We should not try to picture to ourselves how he may have remembered being spiritually alive and then dying. What Paul is doing is giving a statement, as he viewed universal human experience from the standpoint of faith in Christ, of what must have happened to him and to every person. This can be compared to the Christian conviction that every true believer has been born anew, that he has come from spiritual death to spiritual life. A believer may not be able to recall any experience which he can confidently identify as the moment when he passed from death to life but he is sure nonetheless that this did happen to him. Paul, of course, was one who could vividly remember the experience when he came alive in Christ and this may have strengthened his conviction that he must at one time have died spiritually by joining in Adam's rebellion against God. That conviction was based upon what he read in his Scriptures, where it says that God created man for a life of communion with him but that man passed from that life to the death of estrangement from God because sin had used the divine commandment to deceive him into self-centered ἐπιθυμία. This had happened to Adam, and he was sure that it had happened to every descendant of Adam; because the sin of Adam is everywhere evident. In Adam every person dies spiritually because as a son of Adam he is so profoundly affected by Adam's sin that he repeats Adam's sin — just as in Christ, who became sin in our behalf, every believer is given the grace to die to sin with Christ that he might also come alive with him in righteousness. Paul's conviction was probably formed both by the Jewish conviction, in which he had been theologically trained, that Adam's fall had a benighting influence

on all men but that every man is also responsible before God, and even more by his experience of how the act of one man, Jesus Christ, serves to bring from spiritual death to spiritual life all who turn to him.

Another Pauline statement which carries much the same meaning is Rom. 3:23, "All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God."¹ Leenhardt notes that "rabbinic theology held that the first man shared in the divine $\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ל}}$, a privilege which he lost after the fall, but which was to be restored to men on the achievement of ultimate salvation."² Paul doubtless shared this opinion, yet he also believed that to lose and to find the glory of God was open to the present experience of all men to some degree — which is to lose and to find spiritual life. In the LXX which Paul read, the term $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ was used to translate $\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ל}}$ in such incidents as God's appearing to his people and to Moses at Sinai, in the pillar of cloud, and in the tabernacle and temple. Paul taught that sin brings spiritual death upon men by robbing them of this presence of God in their lives but that those who receive Christ's gift of righteousness are given to behold, with unveiled faces, "the glory of the Lord" (2 Cor. 3:18): they experience within their own hearts the shining of "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6).

¹ Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things, London, 1904, p. 115, "St. Paul asserts...that death passed upon all men, because all sinned ($\epsilon\acute{\rho}\gamma\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$). In whatever speculative fashion the apostle may have conceived the connection between the sin of Adam and that of his descendants, we know from his whole religious outlook that when he makes the statement, 'all sinned,' he can never have in view an unmeaning, mechanical fiction. Apart from any theorising on inherited guilt, we have his position clearly stated in Rom. iii, 23: 'all sinned ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \eta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu$) and fall short of ($\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$) the glory of God.' All are blameworthy."

² F. J. Leenhardt, Romans, p. 100.

That is, Adam sinned and the glory of God's presence faded out of his life, bringing spiritual death upon him; and all of Adam's descendants share Adam's experience because we all have joined in Adam's sin and so have excluded (ὑστερεῖν) ourselves from knowing the glory of God's presence.

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A final aspect of Paul's teaching about spiritual death which requires discussion here is the relation of spiritual death to eternal death. Paul taught that just as spiritual life can be possessed in various degrees (i.e. the largely preliminary or potential form of spiritual life with which we are all born and which is soon destroyed by our sins, the spiritual life of the believer which grows as he grows in Christ,¹ and the fulfilled life of glory in the eternal kingdom of God) so spiritual death has various degrees or stages. All men who are in a state of rebellion against God and are therefore outside his redeeming grace in Christ are "perishing" (ἀπολλύμενοι, present participle, 1 Cor. 1:18; 2 Cor. 2:15; 4:3; 2 Thess. 2:10) and are at different stages on the way to that ultimate and final form of spiritual death which is "destruction" (ἀπώλεια, Rom. 9:22; Phil. 1:28; 3:19)² or "eternal destruction" (ὁλεθρος αἰώνιος, 2 Thess. 1:9), in which condition they "have perished" (1 Cor. 15:18). That Paul held to a view that there are levels of spiritual death is indicated, for example, by 2 Cor. 2:15 f., where Paul writes that to those who are "perishing" the gospel is "a fragrance from death to death." That is, rejection of the gospel is a deadly

¹ 2 Cor. 3:18.

² Cf. A. Plummer, Second Corinthians, (ICC), p. 71, "The ἀπολλύμενοι are not merely on the road to ἀπώλεια: ἀπώλεια is regarded as their end, unless some complete change takes place."

compounding of man's previous rebellion against God and thrusts him deeper into the condition of spiritual death¹ (cf. Mt. 12:31; Lk. 12:47 f.; Heb. 6:4 ff.; 10:26 ff.; 1 Jn. 5:16).

If we ask what Paul's thinking was concerning the time at which the ultimate form of spiritual death comes upon the person who is perishing, the answer can be confidently given that it is at the final judgment rather than at the time bodily death occurs. Paul certainly believed in a final judgment, and a passage like Rom. 2:12 clearly indicates his conviction that it will be then that those who are perishing will finally perish: "All who sinned without the law will also perish without the law, and all who have sinned under the law will be judged by the law." To be judged and to perish are treated here as synonymous, and the context shows that the judgment he is thinking of is a future event when all will be judged. He has just been speaking about "the day of wrath when God's righteous judgment will be revealed" (vv. 5 ff.) and almost immediately after v. 12 he speaks of "that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus."²

If we ask about the situation between death and the time of the last

¹Ibid., p. 72, "They were in a condition that was virtually fatal when the Gospel came to them, and its effect was to confirm that fatal tendency."

²1 Cor. 15:18 appears to contradict this, since there we have the expression "have perished" (ἀπώλοντο, aorist) when the reference is to persons who have died. The temporal feature of the verb should not be pressed here, however, because Paul is speaking of believers who presumably are with the Lord but who, if Christ has not been raised, are still in their sins (v. 17). He is imaginatively anticipating the result of the final judgment without him who really was "raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who intercedes for us," and who will save from condemnation (Rom. 8:33 f.).

judgment of those who die in their sins, the answer is that the Pauline letters have no word on this subject. They have very little to say about the intermediate state of believers; so it is not surprising that they have nothing to say about the intermediate state of those who die as enemies of God. The Apostle's purpose was to teach the way of salvation rather than to describe the nature of destruction.¹

If we wish to know what Paul thought about the nature of that second death (cf. Rev. 2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8) which comes after the final judgment, we find little to guide us. In 2 Thess. 1:9 we find it spoken of as "the punishment of eternal destruction and exclusion from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might."² Does this mean annihilation? We have seen that for Paul "death" carries the thought of existence apart from God rather than termination of existence.³ It means exclusion rather than annihilation,⁴ and it can be confidently said that those who offer proof

¹Cf. Plummer, Second Corinthians (ICC), p. 71, "But he is more concerned to remind his readers that believers can be sure of salvation in Christ than to discuss the future of those who refuse to believe on Him."

²Cf. W. Neil, The Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (MNTC), p. 146, "The most notable feature is the reticence of the description. What in normal apocalyptic literature would have included a lurid picture of the tortures of the damned and the bliss of the righteous, in Paul's hands becomes a restrained background of Judgment with the light focused on the Person of Christ as Judge."

Ibid., p. 150, "It should be noted with what reticence Paul describes the fate of the wicked. He paints no lurid picture of their ultimate destiny — the horrors in which the Renaissance painters delighted. He writes symbolically and not literally. His emphasis is on the spiritual fact of separation from God, not on the material conditions."

³Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, St Paul's Conceptions of Last Things, p. 315.

⁴Cf. W. Neil, op. cit., p. 149. Commenting on "eternal destruction," Neil writes, "This does not mean annihilation or eternal torment....Eternal destruction is separation from God for ever."

texts from the Pauline letters (eg. Rom. 6:23) for a doctrine of annihilation are misled by a false literalism.

Paul's letters also provide no specific word on the subject, concerning which there was considerable diversity of opinion among the Jews,¹ as to whether or not the wicked will be resurrected. Will those sentenced to the second death experience this somatically or as disembodied spirits? In the book of Acts Paul is pictured as saying that he joined his Jewish detractors in believing that "there will be a resurrection of both the just and the unjust" (Acts 24:15), but in his letters "resurrection" is always a redemptive reality associated only with the Christian hope. Resurrection always means a joining in that transformation (Phil. 3:21) which Christ experienced in his resurrection; and it is never a means of judgment.²

It should not be denied, however, that Paul could have spoken the words of Acts 24:15.³ Verses 16 and 25 suggest that the statement that

¹Cf. R. H. Charles, Eschatology, 2nd ed. According to Charles, in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature of the second century B.C. "there is only a resurrection of some of the righteous and some of the wicked in Dan. 12:2, 3, of all the righteous and some of the wicked in 1 Enoch 6-36, of all the righteous but none of the wicked in 1 Enoch 87-90. In all cases only Israelites attain to the resurrection" (p. 244).

In the first century B.C. "two views arose as to the nature of the resurrection." Some taught that "there would be no resurrection of the body at all but only of the spirit" and some that there would be a resurrection to a glorified body. According to 1 Enoch 91-104 and Psalms of Solomon 1-16 "only the righteous are to rise," but in 1 Enoch 51:1, 2 "it is just as clearly stated that there is a resurrection of both the just and the unjust." (pp. 295 f.)

In the first century A.D.: "According to all the Jewish literature of this century save the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra, there was to be a resurrection of the righteous only" (p. 358).

²See ^{in the} pp. 322 ff.

³Cf. *ibid.*, p. 444. R. H. Charles denies that these words could have been Paul's. "There could be no resurrection of the wicked according to St. Paul's views. Hence we cannot regard the statement attributed to St. Paul in Acts 24:15, that 'there shall be a resurrection both of the just and of the unjust,' as an accurate report."

"there will be a resurrection of both the just and the unjust" is a way of saying that no man will evade the last great judgment. Felix could not fail to understand this vivid expression of the conviction that a man had better look to his conduct (cf. vv. 16, 25), since God's judgment on sin is by no means limited to this present life. This may have been what Paul meant when he claimed a large degree of agreement among his Jewish detractors for the "hope" that both the just and the unjust will be resurrected. The conviction that no one will escape God's judgment was always the reason, beginning with the book of Daniel, for the doctrine of the resurrection of the wicked, although conceptions as to the nature of this "resurrection" differed.¹ The conception of Sheol long held by Israel was that of a place really beyond Yahweh's sphere. Although this was no longer the case in the first century, conceptions about the realm of the dead were still unsettled and unsure. Therefore, to say that the wicked will be "raised" for the final judgment was the most natural language for a Jew to use if he wished simply to express a conviction that the wicked will not escape God's great day of judgment. This language makes plain that the judgment will not be only for those still alive on the earth when that awful day arrives, and it does not necessarily mean that the user held to the most literal meaning of "resurrection."²

¹Daniel 12:2 teaches a literal resurrection of the body for some of the wicked but in Enoch 6-36 R. H. Charles, who considers this part of Enoch to be approximately as old as Daniel, finds that "though the wicked are here said to rise, they do not share in the resurrection truly so called, they are simply transferred from Sheol to everlasting punishment in Gehenna, where there is 'retribution for their spirits.' This phrase appears to teach that the writer conceived the wicked to rise as disembodied spirits at the resurrection" (ibid., p. 219).

²It should be noticed that in the two New Testament passages (John 5:28 f. and Rev. 20:12 f.) where a raising of the bodies of the wicked appears to be

It seems likely, therefore, that insofar as Paul held a defined view on this sombre subject of a resurrection to judgment that it did not involve a literal resurrection. It is indeed clear that Paul believed the body to be of the greatest importance and that participation in the fully redeemed life of God's eternal kingdom must have a somatic dimension, but it does not follow that he must have believed in a somatic dimension for those suffering "the punishment of eternal destruction and exclusion from the presence of the Lord" (2 Thess. 1:9). The redeemed will know "life" in the fullest sense but the lost can only know "death" in the fullest sense. The Spirit of God will redeem the whole creation, rescuing it from the power of death. If Paul's conceptions involved the dread possibility that some of God's creatures — angels, demons, and men — will have excluded themselves when heaven and earth are recreated, then it seems altogether likely that he conceived of their state in terms of spiritual death in its ultimate (and really inexpressible) form. Paul believed that "the form of this world is passing away" (1 Cor. 7:31), which involved the expectation that materiality as we know it, i.e. as flesh, will total-

promised, the real concern is with the fact of judgment. It is possible even here to argue that the intention of the writer(s) is not to insist on a literal resurrection of the wicked but only to say that they will not escape judgment. In the Johannine passage the statement "all who are in the tombs will hear his voice and come forth" (5:28 f.) is another way of saying "the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live" (5:25). The living presence of the evildoers at the judgment is really the only doctrine which is intended. Furthermore, there are obvious reasons in both John and Revelation for urging a figurative interpretation. It may well be that the writer of Revelation intended the "lake of fire" and "the second death" (20:14) to be spiritually understood. (Cf. Charles, *ibid.*, p. 411, "The second death is the death of the soul, as the first is the death of the body.")

ly disappear:¹ God will "destroy" it (1 Cor. 6:13) when the creation is transformed into a form which is πνευματικός.² It is hard to see that any room is left for a conception that the lost will be returned to their old bodies in order to be judged and to suffer that to which they are sentenced. That would involve the perpetuation of part of the fleshly creation in the form of human bodies and some kind of a cosmic residence for them. A derelict cosmos existing after the cosmos has been recreated is an impossible conception.

A passage which suggests that Paul believed that the dead will be "raised" for the judgment as disembodied spirits is 2 Cor. 5:10: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in (δύς) the body." The context of the passage concerns the disembodied state of the believer³ before he receives his "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (v. 1), when that which is "mortal" will be "swallowed up by life" (v. 5). The bestowal of the new, eternal dwelling could hardly precede the judgment.

¹It would appear, therefore, that Paul did not share apocalyptic hopes of lush millennial plenty. Those who hold that Paul must have believed in an earthly Messianic kingdom (eg. Albert Schweitzer) proceed on the assumption that Paul must have followed the usual eschatological pattern.

²This, of course, does not mean that the new creation will be a realm of pure spirit. Stauffer says that New Testament eschatology is "materialistic" because it "promises a perpetuation of our corporality" (New Testament Theology, p. 227). Paul's eschatology is not "materialistic" in anything like the usual meaning of that term, however; because it promises to the man in Christ that he will have a body like that of the resurrected Christ — of whose resurrection Stauffer writes: "But Christ did not come from the grave like Lazarus...in his previous body, but in a new one, to which the laws of gravity and mortality no longer applied" (p. 135).

³See chapter 12.

If this implies that those who are condemned at the judgment appear at the tribunal as disembodied spirits, is it likely that Paul would conceive of them as becoming embodied subsequently?

But the exegetical facts fail to give assurance as to what Paul believed on this subject, and we must admit that any conclusions which we reach are largely conjectural. Any attempt to provide a detailed reconstruction of what Paul "must have believed" about the "last things" meets with baffling difficulties.¹ Dogmatism is inappropriate, although it is hard not to slip into it when we realize how profoundly eschatological Paul's thinking was.²

The letters of Paul show that he did not feel required to teach a detailed doctrine as to the ultimate fate of those who refuse to give up their rebellion against God.³ All we can say with assurance is that all men face the certainty of final judgment, which includes the dread possibility that some who "in the body" chose to separate themselves from God and who persist in impenitence will have the state of spiritual death which they have chosen confirmed and extended to "utter exclusion from the pres-

¹For example: How is a final judgment for everyone to be fitted into the sequence of events described in 1 Thess. 4:16 f. and 1 Cor. 15:51 f.?

²An example of inappropriate dogmatism is Schweitzer's The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle. Schweitzer made a great contribution to Pauline studies by helping to reveal the great dimensions of Paul's eschatological concern, but this misled him into excessive confidence that he knew what Paul must have believed on a number of subjects common to the apocalyptic literature of Paul's era but on which Paul's letters are actually silent.

³Cf. J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 266, "It is the Christian's future with which he is primarily concerned, and speculations on the ultimate doom or salvation of men outside of Christianity are conspicuous by their absence." Cf. 1 Cor. 5:12, "For what have I to do with judging outsiders?"

ence of the Lord." In other words, the state of spiritual death into which all men fall by joining in the sin of Adam holds the menace of eternal death.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Death's Special Hold on the Body

In our discussion of Paul's teaching about spiritual death, i.e. the nature of death's hold on the "inner man", it was necessary to contrast what Paul has to say about spiritual death with his teaching about death's hold on the "outer man". We have seen that although spiritual death is universal it is not entirely hereditary: each person bears direct responsibility for shutting out the presence of God from his own life. We have also seen that the believer is set free from spiritual death; that although "life" is an eschatological reality which can be fully known only in the coming age of glory, it is nonetheless imparted immediately in substantial reality when a person is by faith united with Christ. With the "outer man", however, the situation is very different. Every person is born with a mortal¹ body, and this condition of mortality remains unchanged for everyone, including the believer who has the new life of the Spirit in Christ. Death in the sense of mortality retains an undiminished hold on all men, and it will do so as long as the present evil age endures. It is the purpose of the present chapter to investigate more fully Paul's thinking about the stronger hold which death has on the "outer man".

Let us first test the statement that "death in the sense of mortality retains an undiminished hold on all men," to see if perhaps it is an overstatement. Did Paul see no evidence at all in the bodily experience of believers that death had relaxed its hold on them? Do not the "first

¹See $\theta\nu\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the appendix.

fruits of the Spirit" reach to some extent the fleshly side of the believer's being? Are there not some glorious signs here also that emancipation from the power of death has already begun?

Paul recognized that one of the gifts of the Spirit exercised in the churches was the power to heal sickness (1 Cor. 12:9, 28, 30), and he regarded sickness as a manifestation of the power of death.¹ Furthermore, the book of Acts reports that Paul himself exercised a healing ministry. A cripple at Lystra was made to walk through Paul; he exorcised an evil spirit at Philippi; unusual miracles of healing occurred in connection with his ministry in Ephesus; many diseases were healed on Malta; and, most important, a lad was restored to life, in the manner of Elijah and Elisha, in Troas.² Moreover, we know that Paul believed one should pray for liberation from illness (1 Cor. 12:8) and that he himself had experienced in his own body what it means to be healed through the laying on of the hands of a believer (Acts 9:17 f.). Since he regarded such happenings as evidence that the church possessed the power of the Spirit in a singular way, may we not conclude that Paul saw in them signs that the powers of the age to come are already causing death to retreat even to the loosening of its hold on the body?

If Paul did follow this logic, we should be able to find expressions in his letters of the conviction that the believer is in some way no longer

¹See chapter 8.

²See R. B. Rackham, The Acts of the Apostles (WC), London, 1901, p. 381, "This greatly encouraged and cheered the whole congregation — not merely because of the restoration of Eutychus, but also for its confirmation of S. Paul's apostolic power. Thus S. Paul went forth, viz. once more a victor, only this time over the greatest enemy — death."

as mortal as he was before. We should find some note of exultation over such a wondrous fact and some exhortation to lay hold on this reality in a fuller way. In Rom. 6, for instance, where the Apostle speaks of the believer as having died and risen with Christ, we should expect to find some such expression. Paul's primary concern in Rom. 6 is to emphasize that, of course, the believer will not continue in sin in order that grace might abound or because he is no longer under the law. He has died to sin and risen with Christ to a newness of life in which sin will no longer be dominant — in which enslavement to sin is at an end. However, no reference is to be found in Rom. 6 to a bodily victory over death. The power of Christ's resurrection in the believer is at the present time of a purely spiritual-ethical nature; victory over mortality is still completely in the future.¹ In vv. 3-11 there is an intriguing double reference to a present spiritual-moral resurrection and to a future resurrection when victory over death will be as complete as it is now for Jesus Christ in his own person. "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies" (v. 12) is the burden of the chapter. The believer must lay hold now of a resurrection to newness of life which Christ's resurrection has made possible, and this is to be done in a body which remains mortal.

Another chapter which calls for examination is 2 Cor. 4. Whereas ex-

¹As far as mortality goes, Christ alone is the "first fruits" and will remain so until his coming again (1 Cor. 15:20 ff.). While inwardly the man in Christ knows victory over the law of sin through "the first fruits of the Spirit," outwardly he must wait for victory. Inwardly he is no longer dead in Adam but alive in Christ, but somatically he continues to be "in Adam" even though his body is a "member of Christ" (1 Cor. 6:15). The words in 1 Cor. 15:22 f. have to do only with the body: "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ."

hortation is the tenor of Rom. 6, here it is exultation. Paul has been going through some extremely trying and dangerous experiences, but as he contemplates them he is filled with joy because of the assurance he is given by actual experience, as well as by hope for the future, that the "transcendent power" of God as it comes through the living Christ is triumphant in all circumstances.

We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted but not forsaken; struck down but not destroyed; always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. (2 Cor. 4:8-10)

"So that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies": does this not mean that the living, resurrected Christ is already manifesting the power of his resurrection in an outward, bodily way by rescuing the body of Paul again and again from the threat of death? Plummer's¹ paraphrase of these words is: "in order that by the continual escapes and deliverances of our bodies it might be manifest to the world that Jesus is still alive." Is not the believer, then, at least relatively more free from death's power over the body than a person who has not given his life into the hands of Jesus?

The answer is that although Paul is exulting in God's power and faithfulness, it is not his purpose to claim any victory over mortality. The context shows that an important source of the assurance in suffering which these verses manifest is the confidence which Paul had that he was being conformed to the dying (*ἐκρωσῆς*, v. 10, lit. "putting to death") of Christ, and that as the death of Jesus has made eternal life possible

¹A. Plummer, Second Corinthians (ICC), p. 123.

for all his brethren, so Paul's νεκρώσις was being used by Christ to serve the cause of "life" in the church (cf. Col. 1:24). Verse 11 is a repetition of the meaning of v. 10, and there the sufferings of Paul are again clearly compared to the death of Jesus: the expression εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα is an allusion to the way in which death came to Jesus.¹ Paul pictures his life as a life unto death. He exulted that the power of the living Christ was being manifested and that his grace, which is unto eternal life, was finding greater acceptance. His contribution to this gracious work of Christ consisted in sharing in the νεκρώσις of Christ (v. 12).

The emphasis upon bodily weakness and death in the whole passage (vv. 7-18) is notable. Paul the missionary pictures himself as a vessel for the treasure of saving truth, but the vessel is like an easily broken earthen vessel (v. 7). It was in his mortal flesh that the life of Jesus was being made known (v. 11). While he helped others to a greater portion of the spiritual life which Christ imparts, death was at work in him (v. 12), causing his ἑξω ἄνθρωπος to waste away (διαφθείρεσθαι, v. 16). As for victory over mortality, this will come only when God raises all of his children from the dead and brings them into his presence (v. 14). Then he will give them that "eternal weight of glory" (v. 18) which Jesus Christ now knows but which we shall be able to share with him only when he changes our mortal bodies into bodies like his own (5:1; Phil. 3:21).

Turning to First Corinthians, we find two passages, 5:5 and 11:30, which refer to sickness and death in such a way as to suggest the view

¹See παραδιδόναι in the appendix.

that the believing community ought to enjoy a greater freedom from Satan's power to cause illness and death than do persons outside the church. Paul expected an excommunicated member to experience "destruction of the flesh",¹ from which he would have been free if he had remained faithful to his Lord; and Paul regarded the fact that many were weak and ill and a number had died among the Corinthian Christians as a result of irreverent conduct during the Lord's Supper. Did Paul think that the "judgment" (v. 29) consisted of more sickness and death among believers than among non-believers in Corinth, or did he think that it consisted in their failure to have much less of these manifestations of the "law of sin and death"? If the latter is the case, then it could be said that Paul did believe that persons in Christ had already begun to experience the life of the coming age in a bodily way as well as spiritually.² It seems more likely, however, that his thinking involved the belief that those who have been given the privilege of a closer association with the things of God suffer special penalties when they violate the divine holiness — as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira (cf. Heb. 10:29). In this same epistle (3:16 f.) there is a warning that to be the temple of the Holy Spirit, as the man in Christ is, is reason for special moral diligence, lest God "destroy" the one who desecrates his temple. Paul apparently believed, furthermore, that Satan would give the kind of special attention to an excommunicated believer that he did to

¹One interpretation of this expression takes it to mean destruction of sinful desires, but though this meaning is also involved, as Robertson and Plummer have observed (First Corinthians, ICC, p. 99) "so strong a word as *ὀλεθρος* implies more than this."

²Cf. O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Body?, p. 45, "If this Lord's Supper were partaken of by all members of the community in a completely worthy manner, then the union with Jesus' Resurrection Body would be so effective in our own bodies that even now there would be no more sickness or death (1 Corinthians 11:28-30) — a singularly bold assertion."

Job.¹

There is a surprising lack of evidence, therefore, that Paul saw any real loosening of death's hold on the body. This is surprising, because Paul clearly taught that the man in Christ has already, in this present life, begun to enjoy the fruits of Christ's victory over sin and death; and it is surprising also because miraculous healings and deliverances from death were not uncommon to Paul's own experience.

Not only is there this lack of evidence that Paul drew the conclusion we might expect him to draw, but there are passages to be found in his letters where he directly denies that there is at present a somatic dimension to that participation in Christ's victory over sin and death which the believer already knows.

One such passage is Rom. 8:10 f.:

But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness. If the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your mortal bodies also through his Spirit which dwells in you.

In other words, death — which has no power but the power of sin² — has the body of the believer in its grip even though the life which flows from righteousness is the spiritual condition of that same person. But

¹Cf. J. Moffatt, First Corinthians (MNTC), p. 56, "The supernatural conception of the church revealed Satan ever on the watch to tempt and overthrow the faithful (2 Cor. 11:3 f., 2:11, etc.); if the evil One was still permitted (as in the case of Job) to inflict physical pains even on the good (2 Cor. 11:7), how much more upon any disloyal souls who were ejected from the sacred fellowship."

²See chapter 4.

there is hope for the body of him who has the Spirit, the Giver of life. That $\zeta\omega\eta$ which he now knows in a spiritual sense because of the Spirit will at the resurrection be given also to his body, which till then is mortal.

The whole argument of Rom. 8 is consistent with this. Those who are in Christ Jesus are free from sin's guilt (v. 1) and therefore know that true life which is fellowship with God. The Holy Spirit has liberated believers from the universal "law" of death's domination through sin (v. 2). How? Through giving them the grace to keep God's law (v. 4); because they are inwardly no longer directed towards the flesh but towards the Spirit (vv. 4-9). They thus gain daily victories in their struggle to put away those death-dealing deeds which are still native to the fleshly body (v. 13). They receive direct spiritual assurance from God's Spirit that they are now children of God (vv. 14-16); but, at the same time, they have not yet received adoption as his sons. This latter is true because in their bodies they are still part of a suffering, sin-stricken creation in bondage to the futility of bodily decay and death; and, though in the Spirit they have the first fruits of the age of glory, they find themselves, with inner anguish, joining the creatures as they eagerly await emancipation. The liberation of the whole creation awaits the hour when they will finally be adopted fully as co-heirs with God's Son: when their bodies are at last redeemed from the power of sin and death (vv. 17-23). This is at present purely in the realm of hope — nothing of this bodily redemption can now be seen (v. 24); but there is reason to wait for it with patience (v. 25), because they have the help of the Spirit within and the assurance that Almighty

God is determined that they shall share the form of Christ's heavenly glory in renewed bodies like his (v. 29). God is making their every experience to serve this goal (v. 28). The assurance for all this is in the manifestation of God's love in Jesus Christ (vv. 31-39).

Special attention should be given to the confession found in v. 23 that Paul groaned ($\sigmaτενάζειν$)¹ inwardly as he awaited the emancipation ($\alphaπολύτρωσις$) of his body. In the midst of this chapter which describes with glowing language the triumphant life of the believer in Christ, which he now (v. 1) has through possession of the Spirit and knowledge of God's love in Christ, we find this confession of inner anguish. The anguish arises, writes Paul, because of the unredeemed state of the body. Receiving "the first fruits of the Spirit" has made no difference here. Here he is in precisely the same situation as the rest of earth's creatures, and he joins fully in their misery over the "subjection to futility" in which their "slavery to decay" holds them.

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Since it is our purpose to discover as fully as possible what the mind of Paul was on the subject of death, we must attempt to discover the sources of this inner misery to which the Apostle confesses. We have a chance here not only to think his thoughts after him but to feel with him — to explore the mood into which thinking about death brought him.

Let us begin by inquiring why it is that although the general mood of

¹The same word is used twice in 2 Cor. 5 (vv. 2 and 4) to express the same inner anguish which he felt as he "strained after" ($\epsilonπιποθειν$) the "heavenly dwelling", wanting the $\thetaνητός$ (his present body) to be swallowed up by $\zetaωή$.

Rom. 8 differs greatly from that of Rom. 7 both express dismay over the fact that the body is a body of death. There is this difference, that the context of 7:24 shows that the dismay expressed there arises from the fact that the body is the residence of the "law of sin" whereas in 8:23 the context shows that the believer's inner misery arises from the fact that the body is in "bondage to decay"; but these are only two sides of the same coin for Paul. Where sin is, there is death; and where death is, there is sin. This is shown by the fact that in 7:24 the cry is for deliverance from "this body of death", whereas the preceding verses would lead one to expect Paul to say "this body of sin".¹

This point of likeness between the two chapters is neither small nor incidental. It is, rather, a vivid sign of a wider kinship, and that kinship is in the major concern expressed in both chapters over the menace of the flesh. Chapter 7 teaches that sin in the flesh always prevails over the man who seeks in his own strength to fulfil God's law; and in chapter 8 it is taught that, although the man in Christ is given strength to overcome the flesh, the menace of the flesh remains. Whether a man is under law or under grace there is a constant in his situation: the flesh. There is much exhortation in chapter 8 directed at the man in Christ (vv. 5-8, 12, 13). He is urged to live according to the Spirit rather than according to the flesh: "for if you live according to the flesh you will die, but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body [of flesh] you will

¹Cf. John Knox, The Interpreters' Bible, vol. IX, New York, 1954, p. 503, "In 6:6 Paul had spoken of the 'body of sin,' meaning certainly 'sinful body' or 'body dominated by sin.' Here he has the same idea in mind but is thinking especially of sin's awful consequences. The 'body of sin' is really a 'body of death.'"

live." This is fully consistent with Gal. 5:16 f., where Paul pictures the man in Christ as a being pulled in two ways, by the Spirit and by the flesh: "But I say, walk by the Spirit, and do not gratify the desires of the flesh. For the desires of the flesh are against the Spirit, and the desires of the Spirit are against the flesh; for these are opposed to each other, to prevent you from doing what you would."

The believer remains a fleshly being, and when Paul says, "You are not in the flesh, you are in the Spirit" (Rom. 8:9), he means that the man in Christ is able in spite of what his flesh is to live a new life of righteousness by the power of the Almighty Spirit of God. As long as the believer continues to live as a being of flesh he lives a life of tension. This tension — and only one who sets his mind ($\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$) on the things of the Spirit (Rom. 8:5) can know its full severity — arises from the fact that inwardly the believer is open to the working of the Spirit while outwardly he is made of flesh, wherein the power of sin continues in unabated potency. The Spirit enables the man in Christ to "put to death the deeds of the body" and to yield the body to God as an instrument of righteousness (Rom. 6:13); but though sin therefore no longer reigns in his mortal body (Rom. 6:12), it is still there in its old corruptive force, causing the body to decay and striving to bring the believer back under its complete dominance.

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This all leads to the conclusion — however carefully and reluctantly we reach it — that there is a kind of dualism in Paul's teaching. This dualism is not an ultimate (or fundamental) dualism but a temporary one.

It began with Adam's rebellion, and it will be done away at the Parousia when the believer is "changed" (1 Cor. 15:51), his body becoming a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. It is not a body-mind or body-spirit dualism except in the sense that the body of the man in Christ is temporarily composed of sinful flesh even though inwardly he is a "new creation; the old has passed away, behold, the new has come" (2 Cor. 5:17). Paul's dualism is rather a flesh-Spirit dualism, and he uses it to explain the bitter contradictions of the believer's life. The believer receives the witness of the Spirit that he is a child of God, but he still awaits adoption (Rom. 8:16, 23); he "lives by the Spirit", but he experiences the greatest difficulties when he would "walk by the Spirit" (Gal. 5:25); he has been "raised with Christ" (Col. 3:1), but his body is "dead because of sin" (Rom. 8:10).¹ During the present time — while "the form of this world is passing away" (1 Cor. 7:31) but has not yet passed away — the believer anxiously and yearningly awaits (2 Cor. 5:2, 4) the great transformation when his "lowly body" will become like Christ's *σῶμα τῆς δόξης* (Phil. 3:21).² Then his whole being, inner and outer, will be fully consonant with the Spirit

¹Cf. Paul Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, 8th ed., Gütersloh, 1933, p. 32, "Kinder Gottes — und doch dem Tode verfallen. Sohnschaft Gottes ist Leben, ewiges Leben. Aber die zu Söhnen des Lebendigen Angenommenen bleiben gebunden an den 'Leib des Todes,' mit allen seinen Hemmungen und Gebrechlichkeiten, mit den Gesetzen der Ermüdung, des Alterns und Sterbens."

²It is possible for the man in Christ, who knows the spiritual triumph as described in Rom. 8, to join in the anguished words of Rom. 7:24. He experiences a very real misery while waiting for deliverance from his body of flesh, which is still under the "law of sin and death." Rom. 8:18-23 is cogent evidence for this.

Cf. K. Barth, *Romans*, 6th ed., trans. by E. C. Hoskyns, London, 1933, p. 270, "Wretched man that I am! We must not deprive this am of its heavy significance. Paul is not describing the situation before his conversion!"

See also Nygren, *Romans*, pp. 284 ff.

(πνευματικός) and the present conflict within his person will be gone!

This understanding of Pauline dualism involves the recognition that it is not merely a "practical and moral" dualism but that it is also "cosmic" and "metaphysical".¹ Paul conceived of sinful flesh as the substance of our fallen world — a substance in which the "metaphysical" power of sin is doing its corrupting work.² Man shares this substance, and therein is the situation which Adam has bequeathed to his descendants. God created man as a being of flesh (Gen. 2:21 ff.), and so the flesh was originally "very good" (Gen. 1:31);³ but when Adam alienated himself and his world from God and from the protecting, sustaining power of God's Spirit, it was possible for sin to enter into the very substance of man and his world. The "present evil age" has ever since been dominated by the power of sin operating from its stronghold in the flesh. The sons of Adam are mortal because the activity of sin in the flesh is a killing activity; bodies which are made of flesh in which sin is active are bodies of decay. This situation also makes Adam's descendants sinners; because sin in the flesh, when aroused by the law, is able to deceive the man of flesh and to cause him to join in Adam's sin of defiance towards God. The human problem which Christ came to meet, when he came in "the likeness of sinful flesh", was to overcome sin in the flesh (Rom. 8:3 f.) and so to rescue men who have bodies of death and who

¹See J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 104, "His dualism is not cosmic nor metaphysical, but practical and moral." Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, St Paul's Conceptions of Last Things, p. 349, "The antagonism of which the Apostle is conscious between σάρξ and πνεῦμα is a moral and not a metaphysical antagonism."

²This will be defended later in the chapter.

³It would have made no difference to Paul, of course, had he been told that there are two accounts of creation.

are also spiritually dead in sins. He won a decisive victory and is now, through the Spirit, bringing his brethren into possession of that victory. He first makes them alive inwardly and gives them power to defy sin in the flesh, and at his coming he will complete their emancipation from sin in the flesh by giving them immortal bodies.

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We should now be in a position to suggest reasons why Paul failed to express his "inaugurated" eschatology in bodily terms and also to attempt a characterization of Paul's mood as he contemplated the body.

Paul could find no grounds for treating healings and exorcisms and even raisings of the dead as signs that the new age had already begun for the $\epsilon\gamma\omega \kappa\upsilon\theta\omega\pi\alpha\sigma$; because they made no essential change in man's bodily predicament. To restore life to a fleshly body merely returns a man to the unredeemed body. The only thing that can meet man's bodily problem is transformation — complete elimination of the sinful flesh. Healings of the fleshly body are, indeed, signs that the church has the "first fruits of the Spirit", because they manifest that special presence of the Holy Spirit which was to be true of the Messianic age; but the healings merely retard the $\phi\thetaορ\alpha$ which sin in the flesh works. The "outer man" inevitably continues to "waste away" (2 Cor. 4:16). In the fulfilled kingdom of God decay will be eliminated, and healings of the body make no advance towards that. The healings help, however, to produce hope; because they are a means by which the Holy Spirit gives assurance in our hearts of God's love. They help to make manifest that "we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand" and they cause us to "rejoice in our hope of

sharing the glory of God" (Rom. 5:1-5). We shall share the glory of God only when he chooses to give us bodies of glory like that of Christ.

Furthermore, this hope helps us to "rejoice in our sufferings". We are not to expect or desire the elimination of our sufferings as long as we are "in the flesh". We are to rejoice for every sign that we share in the sufferings and the dying of Christ which he experienced in the flesh (Phil. 1:29 f.; 2:17; 3:10 f.); for such suffering is a means which God uses to give ^{to} us inner strength (2 Cor. 12:9 f.) and through us to others (2 Cor. 4:12; Col. 1:24);¹ and they are a means of "preparing for us an eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison" (2 Cor. 4:17).²

The mood with which Paul contemplated the human body evidently contained a mixture of profound respect and a feeling of rejection approaching revulsion. He respected it for what it was when God created it and for what it will be when God recreates it. God created man a somatic being, and Paul's concern for the redemption of the body found expression in a surprising variety of ways in his theology. According to J. A. T. Robinson, "One could say without exaggeration that the concept of the body forms the keystone of Paul's theology."³

¹Cf. Paul Althaus, Die letzten Dinge, 8th ed., p. 33, "Der Widerstreit zwischen Inhalt und Gefäss (2. Kor. 4, 7) bleibt hart. Obgleich sich gerade in der 'Schwachheit' des Paulus Gottes Kraft beweisen kann und der Apostel sich daher der Schwachheit 'rühmt', so 'seufzt' er um ihretwillen doch zugleich und erwartet die 'Erlösung des Leibes' (2. Kor. 12, 9 f.; Röm. 8, 18 ff.). Schwachheit und Sterblichkeit sind nicht nur Mittel, sondern auch Grenze der Gottesgemeinschaft und des völligen Gottesdienstes."

²For a further discussion of the subject of this paragraph see chapters 9, 10, 11.

³The Body, p. 9, "In its closely interconnected meanings, the word

But the very respect which Paul accorded the body must have intensified the dismay he felt over its present condition.¹ All of our analysis of Paul's use of the Genesis account of the Fall points towards the conclusion that Paul viewed sin as an alien metaphysical power which has entered into the creation and literally distorted it. When Paul says that "sin came into the world" (Rom. 5:12), he does not merely mean that men started to sin, he means that sin occupied the cosmos as an army of occupation takes over a conquered country. And just as an army of occupation changes the political orientation of a country and thereby causes profound social changes, sin has so altered the relation of the creation to its Creator and Sustainer as largely to destroy the order and beauty of the divine creation and to replace it with the anarchy and ugliness characteristic of sin. Paul thought of sin as working a continuous 'dis-creation'; and it all led to decay and destruction -- to death, the negation of the Creator's purpose.

What did Paul feel and think when he saw a cancerous growth on someone's body, or observed a person helplessly retching, or studied the

σῶμα (*soma*) knits together all his great themes. It is from the body of sin and death that we are delivered; it is through the body of Christ on the Cross that we are saved; it is into His body the Church that we are incorporated; it is by His body in the Eucharist that this Community is sustained; it is in our body that its new life has to be manifested; it is to a resurrection of this body to the likeness of His glorious body that we are destined. Here, with the exception of the doctrine of God, are represented all the main tenets of the Christian Faith -- the doctrines of Man, Sin, the Incarnation and Atonement, the Church, the Sacraments, Sanctification, and Eschatology."

¹If the "sowing" of 1 Cor. 15:42-44 refers to conception or birth rather than to burial, these verses reveal something of this dismay. The body is dishonoured by its weakness and perishableness.

face of a corpse?¹ He saw with revulsion and horror the handiwork of sin in the flesh. Everywhere about him he saw disorder and ugliness, decay and death. In his eyes it was all characteristic of the flesh in which sin is carrying on its 'discreative' activities. Looking at the sub-human world he saw the same things. When he observed the mutual destructiveness to be found there -- big animals eating medium-sized ones, and medium-sized animals eating small ones -- he saw the same activities which sinful flesh produces among men: "enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension" (Gal. 5:20). And to him it all seemed *μικροτόνη* (emptiness, futility, frustration). Since animals cannot sin, they had been subjected by the Creator along with sinful man to this pitiable situation quite apart from their own will -- but subjected in hope of also sharing with the children of God that glorious liberty from decay and futility which will come with emancipation from bodies of flesh (Rom. 8:19-23).²

If we would taste something of Paul's mood as he looked at the world about him, we must try to imagine how the world would look to us after beholding Jesus Christ in his body of glory. The Jesus whom Paul met in his Damascus-road experience was very different from what he was when he suffered on the cross, although he appeared to Paul as the Crucified: The form of our sinful flesh was gone. His body had been recreated

¹If the "sowing" of 1 Cor. 15:42-44 refers to burial, then we have here a suggestion as to how Paul felt in the presence of a corpse.

²This is, admittedly, a rather staggering suggestion to minds accustomed to assuming that God's eternal purpose includes only the human spirit but not the human body -- let alone the sub-human features of God's earthly creation!

into a body of glory. This was why Paul could later assert that to know Christ *κατὰ σάρκα* was a thing of the past (2 Cor. 5:16 f.). Along with this experience of the Christ of glory there came to Paul the assurance, which was a very part of the light which streamed from Christ, that the victory which the man Jesus had won over all the darkness and death of the world was a vicarious victory. It was in behalf of all men; it was in behalf of all creation (*τὰ πᾶντα*, Col. 1:20) now in thrall to sin in the flesh. God is at work to liberate his creation through his Son; he is determined that the victory of Jesus will be shared with "many brethren" (Rom. 8:28 ff.).

We must try to imagine how dark the world of flesh would look when contrasted with that world of light; and we must try to imagine how it would serve not only to give an intense hope for the future¹ but a greatly increased anguish over the present sufferings of the world. The increased anguish would come from three sources. First of all, a new compassion and a new sympathy would be born. The whole Damascus-road experience was suffused with the love of God in Christ. It was the Crucified One appearing to his bitter enemy and persecutor for his good and for the good of the whole world through him. All of Paul's subsequent life testified that Paul caught something of this love of God for all his suffering world. His capacity to "weep with those that weep" (Rom. 12:15) was greatly increased.

¹Cf. P. Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, 2 ed., Gütersloh, 1924, p. 16, "Die Gewissheit um letzte Dinge oder das Ewige entsteht, wenn wir inmitten des Lebens der Norm begegnen." This statement was made in a discussion of "axiological" eschatology. After the 3 ed. the distinction between axiological and teleological eschatology was abandoned (see 8 ed. pp. 18 f.).

Secondly, the tolerance towards the cruelty and misery and decay which everyone develops because these are characteristic of the only world he knows would be shattered. The evil of this world would suddenly become much more starkly evident because silhouetted against the perfection of another.¹ Thirdly, impatience and expectation would be aroused by the conviction that all evil has been conquered in the experience of One, who fully experienced it all, and would surely be conquered everywhere through the divine power of the Victor.

That Paul suffered agonizing impatience is clear. Take 2 Cor. 4 and 5, for instance. He who has seen -- and still sees -- the glory of God in Christ (4:4, 6) also observes death at work (4:12) in his fragile (4:7) body. But he "knows" that a resurrection body like that of Christ is awaiting him (4:14). His body is "wasting away" (4:16), but the afflictions which hasten this process of decay also point to an "eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison" (4:17), which is sure though as yet unseen; and when the body of glory is given at the resurrection, it will provide an eternal residence (4:17 f.; 5:1). But having to wait causes a groaning agony of impatient yearning. ἐν τούτῳ [body]² στενάζομεν... ἐπιπροβόυντες (5:2). "The participle explains and gives the reason for στενάζομεν: 'we groan, because we yearn.'³

¹Cf. *ibid.*, p. 19. Speaking of man's experience of the eternal, Althaus writes: "Gewiss ergreift sie daher, wo immer sie echt ist, den Menschen zunächst als demütige Gewissheit eigener Ärmlichkeit, Endlichkeit, Todverfalleneheit."

²Cf. A. Plummer, *Second Corinthians* (ICC), p. 144. Plummer notes that "ἐν τούτῳ" may mean either 'in this tent-dwelling' (v. 1), or 'hereby,' or 'herein,' lit. 'in this fact,' but he concludes that the "first meaning is simplest here; 'For truly in this tabernacle-house we groan.'"

³*Ibid.*, p. 145.

This is not to deny that Paul rejoiced in his hope, as he urged others to do (Rom. 12:12). There is a ring of joyful anticipation in these words: "Salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed: the night is far gone, the day is at hand" (Rom. 13:11 f.). But the very intensity of his joyous anticipation could not but produce, at times, the pains of impatience. His letters show that he put a high valuation on patience, and one reason for the exercise of that virtue is so that "if we hope for what we do not see, we wait for it with patience" (Rom. 8:25). This suggests that patience did not come easily.

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We now turn to a more systematic study of Paul's use of the two terms *σῶμα* and *σὰρξ*. Such a study ought to shed further light on the questions we have been investigating. Each term is used a full ninety times, and this figure becomes considerably larger in each case if we add terms which refer to the same reality -- to *σὰρξ* the terms *σαρκικός* and *σάρκινος* and to *σῶμα* terms such as *μέλος* and *κεφαλή*, which refer to the body in its parts.

References to "flesh" and "body" are not only very numerous, but the terms are used in such a variety of ways that the reader can easily become confused and conclude that Paul did not use them consistently. If we understand certain conceptions which determined his use of them, however, it is possible to see a clear and consistent pattern of usage.

One fact which is entirely clear, in spite of apparent inconsistencies, is that, in general, Paul's attitude towards *σὰρξ* was negative and towards *σῶμα* was positive. Most uses of *σὰρξ* demonstrate that Paul had "no con-

fidence in the flesh" (Phil. 3:3), and most uses of *σῶμα* show that Paul's attitude towards the body was worlds away from either Platonism¹ or Gnosticism.² The body is not a gross, unessential part of the human person which is simply a burden on the purely spiritual self; but it is created by the one God as an essential 'part' of man without which he cannot fulfil his destiny in service to God or participate in the full salvation of God's presence. For Paul the body is to be presented "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God" (Rom. 12:1); it is "for the Lord, and the Lord for the body," a "member of Christ" and a "temple of the Holy Spirit," in which a man should "glorify God" (1 Cor. 6:13-20).

There are passages, however, which appear to contradict most sharply this high estimate of the body. Paul refers, for instance, to "the body of sin" (Rom. 6:6) and to "this body of death" (Rom. 7:24). Knowing Paul's

¹Socrates: "And thought is best when the mind is gathered into herself...when she has as little as possible to do with the body, and has no bodily sense or feeling, but is aspiring after pure being?"

Simmiias: "Certainly."

Socrates: "And in this the philosopher dishonours the body; his soul runs away from the body and desires to be alone and by herself?"

Simmiias: "That is true."

— from the Phaedo (Jowett), *Steph. 65*.

²The best evidence that Paul faced gnostic-type ideas of contempt towards the body is found in Colossians. There he makes a point of emphasizing that salvation depends on what Jesus did in his real, fleshly, crucified body (1:20, 22, 24); and his teaching about the church as the body of Christ takes on a more definite, literal quality (1:18, 24; 2:9, 19). Cf. E. F. Scott, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (MNTC), p. 24, "In the later epistles this idea of the Body of Christ ceases to be figurative, and is made to correspond to a mystical reality. The church is regarded as the larger incarnation of Christ. As he once appeared in a body of flesh so he now dwells in the Church, and uses it for his self-manifestation, continuing through it the work for which he came."

attitude towards sin and death, we know that he could not have used stronger terms of condemnation. But this inconsistency is more apparent than real. In "the present evil age" the body is a body of flesh, in which sin is rampant. This does not mean that Paul made a distinction between *σῶμα* as merely the form and *σὰρξ* as the material substance of our "outer man".¹ That is a philosophical abstraction which had no part in Paul's realistic thinking. The body is by creation a body of flesh and will continue so until, at the Parousia, the bodies of "the sons of God" will be transformed. Since the fleshly body has become the stronghold of sin and has been corrupted and been made mortal by the presence of sin's power, the body of flesh is called "the body of sin" and "this body of death". This is why Paul had to "pommel my body and subdue it" (1 Cor. 9:27), and this is why he could say that "while we are at home in the body we are away from the Lord" (2 Cor. 5:6). The body has indeed become an obstacle instead of a means by which a man may serve God and enjoy his presence, but this does not change God's purpose for the body nor rob it of its high destiny. It has only temporarily become sorely debased by the power of sin in the flesh.

Paul's thinking in regard to the flesh is less easy to define than his thinking about the body. Although Paul certainly accepted the plain teaching of Genesis 2:21 ff. that man was a body of flesh before the Fall

¹ Cf. R. Bultmann, Theology of the N.T., I, p. 233, "Sarx, therefore ...does not mean simply 'matter' (*ύλη*) in contrast to 'form'; while, though it does primarily mean a material, it means a material only as it is formed and animated in the human body. That is the only reason that sarx can occasionally be used synonymously with soma." See also *ibid.*, pp. 192 f.

and that the flesh was, therefore, a part of the original creation, he taught that flesh will have no part in the coming age of glory (1 Cor. 15:50). Paul rejected the "flesh" not only because, since the Fall, it has been the stronghold of sin's power but also because it is by its very nature an obstacle to participation in the eternal kingdom of God.¹ One of Paul's favourite antinomies is that between Spirit and flesh.² This opposition exists for two reasons: first, because the coming age of glory is πνευματικός whereas the present world order was σάρκινος even before the Fall and, second, because to be σάρκινος in the present evil age — since the Fall — means that one's flesh is ruled by the power of sin.

This double opposition between the spiritual and the fleshly is best explained by the supposition³ that Paul understood that God's original purpose was to be achieved in two stages. This is probably the meaning of 1 Cor. 15:46: "But it is not the [σῶμα] πνευματικόν which is first but the ψυχικόν, and then the πνευματικόν" (cf. v. 44). The first (ψυχικός) stage was also σάρκινος, because man, the ψυχή ὡσαύτως, was made from the

¹Cf. M. Goguel, "le caractère, à la fois actuel et futur, du salut dans la théologie paulinienne", The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, ed. Davies and Daube, pp. 322-341. Goguel, who sees in Paul a two-stage theory of creation, says that it is not only to the corrupted body which has become the seat and cause of sin but also to the body as created that the principle in 1 Cor. 15:50 applies (p. 326).

²Paul found this expressed in Holy Scripture. Gen. 6:3 suggests an opposition between Spirit and flesh both because of the very nature of flesh and also because flesh had become corrupt — resulting in death after a shortened life span: "Then the Lord said, 'My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for he is flesh, but his days shall be a hundred and twenty years'."

³Discussed in chapter 3.

dust of the ground (Gen. 2:7; 1 Cor. 15:45).¹ If man had met the tests of this first stage he and his world would have, by another creative act of God, passed on to the final stage, the πνευματικός — without any experience of death. Man failed, however, and he and his world fell under the power of sin and death — with sin and death finding in the σὰρξ their opportunity for maintaining their dominance. When God made man a fleshly being he put him in a radical position of choice in which he could readily turn from the Creator and seek to live in and for the flesh alone. Adam, however, in the first and most disastrous effort to achieve by a "work of the flesh" what he fondly thought would be his fulfilment, fell from the dignity of being son of God (cf. Lk. 3:38) to being a slave to sin in the flesh. His need, therefore, is to be rescued from this slavery to sin and death in the flesh. If he turns to Christ, the "Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" does set him free (Rom. 8:2), spiritually speaking, so that he is no longer "in the flesh" but "in the Spirit". This also holds the promise of a final victory over sin and death in the flesh, when his body will be "redeemed". Then he will have achieved through grace the final level of God's creative purpose. His recreated body will be so completely consonant with the Spirit (σῶμα πνευματικόν) that sin will no longer have the opportunity which the flesh offers it to cause that separation from

¹Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, p. 23, "ψυχικός. This word is virtually interchangeable for Paul with σαρκικός (cf. the contrast ψυχικός — πνευματικός in I Cor. 2.14 f and πνευματικός — σάρκινος, σαρκικός immediately afterwards in I Cor. 3.1, 3). This usage derives from the Old Testament assimilation of basar and nephesh, σὰρξ and ψυχή, to describe the animated body (cf. Ps. 63.1: 'my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee'), and stands in strong contrast with the Greek antithesis between soul and body. In I Cor. 15.44-9 ψυχικός is the purely natural, contrasted with πνευματικός and identified with χοϊκός (earthy)."

God which is death.¹ The flesh will be no more.

This will help us to understand why Paul gives to the phrase "in the flesh" two distinct and apparently contradictory meanings. He writes as if being "in the flesh" is evil and a thing of the past for believers (Rom. 7:5; 8:9), but he also says that to remain alive is necessarily to be "in the flesh" and that this being "in the flesh" can be Christ-centered and fruitful of good (Phil. 1:21 f.). There is no contradiction, however; both ways of speaking flow naturally from Paul's thinking about the flesh. If one is to be alive in the present world he must be in the flesh in the literal sense of taking part in the substance characteristic of this world. Adam was in the flesh in this sense even before the Fall. After the Fall, however, he was "in the flesh" in a new and evil sense. He had become spiritually enmeshed in the toils of sin resident in the flesh. Whereas his attention and loyalty had been directed towards God he had come to set his mind on the flesh, which is spiritual death (Rom. 8:5 ff.).² The incarnate Christ was in the flesh in the one sense but not in the other. Though he was in fallen, mortal, sin-dominated flesh, sin had no power over his spirit. Those who are "in Christ" are given power by his Spirit to be free from the spiritual dominance of sin in the flesh even while they are still fleshly beings. They are now able to deny the ἐπιθυμία of the flesh (Gal. 5:16 ff.), which is corrupted by sin. The disaster

¹See chapter 13.

²An O.T. passage which expresses the fateful necessity of choosing between God and the flesh is Jer. 17:5, "Thus says the LORD: 'Cursed is the man who trusts in man and makes flesh his arm, whose heart turns away from the LORD'."

of the Fall has already been partly reversed, and in a significant sense they have already begun to live in the new age when the flesh shall be no more, so that Paul can refer to them already as πνευματικοί (1 Cor. 2:15; Gal. 6:1).

The menace of the flesh remains, however, as long as the believer is in the flesh in the sense of having a fleshly body — and this menace is largely because the flesh has fallen under the power of sin.¹ Though we recognize in Paul's thinking a double opposition between Spirit and flesh, there should be no hesitation in asserting that he saw the main opposition as arising with the Fall. The most intensely pejorative uses of σὰρξ in the Pauline letters are found in passages where the power of sin is the central concern. It seems passing strange, therefore, that J. A. T. Robinson can say that Paul regarded σὰρξ as "neutral" except as the wrong attitude is taken towards it:

One could describe the situation by saying that σὰρξ as neutral is man living in the world, σὰρξ as sinful is man living for the world: he becomes 'a man of the world' by allowing his being-in-the-world, itself God-given, to govern his whole life and conduct. To live κατὰ σάρκα is to make 'the belly' one's God and only care (Rom. 16:18; Phil. 3:19). It is to be 'careful for the things of the world' rather than 'for the things of the Lord' (1 Cor. 7:32 f) and its consequence is 'lust' (Gal. 5:16, 24; Rom. 13:14; Eph. 2:3), 'indulgence' (Col. 2:23), 'covetousness' (Col. 3:5). This setting of the mind on the things that are upon earth (Col. 3:2; Phil. 3:19) is essentially idolatry (Col. 3:5). Consequently... 'the mind of the flesh' stands primarily for a denial of man's dependence

¹Goguel (op. cit., p. 327) says that, according to Paul, if the justified Christian has become spiritual, this is by no means total. He continues to live in the body and to endure its pressure towards sin. He has not become incapable of sinning. He has only received the earnest of the Spirit in such a fashion that if he fails in vigilance he will fall again into the life of the flesh. Such is the reason for the tension which is in the life of the Christian as Paul conceived of it.

on God and for a trust in what is of human effort or origin.¹

In spite of the numerous references to the Pauline letters which they contain, these sentences carry a conception of *σὰρξ* which falls far short of the dynamism and realism of Paul's conception. "Neutral" is a term which fits ill with the Apostle Paul's thinking at any point, and it is quite out of place in describing his conception of the flesh. Even if it could be said that he regarded the flesh as neutral before the Fall, because it provided the situation in which man faced a critical choice, any such 'neutrality' ceased when "sin came into the world" through Adam's rebellion. Since then the flesh has been on the side of sin.²

In "the present evil age" man by himself is a helpless victim of sin in the flesh. He can do no else but obey "the law of sin" which dwells in his fleshly members (Rom. 7:17 ff.). Why is it that a man does the very thing he hates? Why is it that he can will what is right and yet not be able to do it? It isn't because he freely chooses to take a wrong attitude but because of the power of sin which dwells in him. Paul even goes the dangerous length of saying, "Now if I do what I do not want, it is no longer I that do it, but sin which dwells within me" (Rom. 7:20). How or where does sin dwell in him? In his mind or spirit? No, in his flesh: in the "members" of his body. "I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin

¹The Body, p. 25.

²Robinson himself (ibid., p. 39) says that *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. 8:3) means "flesh that belonged to sin".

which dwells in my members" (Rom. 7:23). Contrasting as he does the "mind" with the "members" it is clear that the term "member" means just what the usage of the word μέλος meant: a part of the body. How can the conclusion be evaded that, according to Paul, a man is a sinner not because he freely turns from God and takes an idolatrous attitude towards that which is otherwise neutral, but because the power of sin in the flesh overwhelms him? The Holy Spirit can liberate a man from this dominance of sin in the flesh, but this happens only when he gives up every notion that he has power of his own to cope with the dynamic power of the flesh (Gal. 5:16 f.).

Robinson recognizes Paul's insistence on man's need to depend on God, but he falls short of Paul's understanding of the dimensions of that need when he says, "'the mind of the flesh' stands primarily for a denial of man's dependence on God and for a trust in what is of human effort or origin."¹ It should be noted that in Rom. 8:5 ff. τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός is opposed to τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος. Now if πνεῦμα here means the Holy Spirit, as it most certainly does,² σὰρξ is set over against almighty power. It makes the intensity of Paul's language in this passage more understandable, therefore, if we take σὰρξ to stand for a reality which has in it a power for evil of super-human dimensions rather than for something so weak as "what is of human effort or origin". The "mind of the flesh" speaks of the whole direction of a life which, having turned from

¹Robinson says that he is following Bultmann here and refers the reader to Theologie des N.T., I, 235 ff.

²Cf. C. H. Dodd, Romans, (MNTC), p. 122, "The fresh element in the present passage is the identification of the new life in the Spirit as contrasted with the flesh."

God, has been enslaved by that demonic power¹ which resides in all flesh and therefore made positively "hostile to God". Not only does such a life not "submit to God's law" but it is no longer able to do so (Rom. 8:7 f.).

Robinson refers to the results of living *κατὰ σάρκα*. We are better able to see the depths of evil which Paul saw in each of the mentioned results if we see in them a quality of evil which is more-than-human. We can more readily understand why covetousness is defined as idolatry if we agree that Paul saw in the flesh an anti-God power which is ever seeking "opportunity" (*ἰσχυρῶς*, Rom. 7:8, 11; Gal. 5:13) to work in us "all kinds of covetousness" (Rom. 7:8); and we shall then better understand where lust gets its awful power.

One very important and spiritually disastrous expression of "the mind of the flesh" is an attempt to achieve "a righteousness of my own, based on law", which manifests "confidence in the flesh" (Phil. 3:2 ff.). This is indeed, as Robinson says, "a denial of man's dependence on God and...a trust in what is of human effort or origin"; but we can better understand the ferocity of Paul's rejection of this folly if we see here again in his reference to *σάρξ* a conception involving demonic power.

Perhaps, however, it can still be argued that since there are passages in which Paul referred to the flesh without any derogation of it, that he was not consistent in his use of *σάρξ* and that there is, therefore,

¹It may be of interest to note that in Robinson's Honest to God, p. 59, it is said that Paul regarded 'flesh' as meaning shallowness as opposed to spiritual depth. This agrees with the quasi-panteistic character of the doctrine of that book, in which it would be difficult to find room for the demonic.

an important sense in which he regarded flesh as neutral. If this is true, perhaps it is also true that in the derogatory passages the use of *σὰρξ* is rhetorical rather than realistic.

But are there any passages which show that Paul was inconsistent? We have already referred to Phil. 1:21 ff. Is the flesh of a person who is living a Christ-centered, fruitful life a sin-dominated thing? Yes, because "to die is gain". To die is "to depart and be with Christ", which is "far better". Why did Paul hanker to depart when he had so many important things to do which he could only do "in the flesh" (v. 24)? Why would dying cause him to be "with Christ" when his life was already "in Christ"? Furthermore, to die before the Parousia would involve being disembodied, which he would rather avoid (2 Cor. 5:3 f.) — the "far better" does not refer to the hope of full redemption.¹ The answer is that a body of flesh puts large obstacles in the way of communion with Christ which will be removed by departure from it. Life in a body of flesh means constant contact with sin's power in one's own person, and departure from such a body will liberate the man in Christ from this contact (Rom. 6:7).² When Christ died on the cross he departed from the body of flesh which gave the evil powers controlling this age all kinds of opportunity to attack him (Col. 2:15).³ It must not be thought that it was 'neutral' flesh as such

¹See chapter 12.

²See chapter 11.

³The N.E.B. reads, "On the cross he discarded the cosmic powers and authorities like a garment." E. F. Scott (MNTC, p. 48), while not accepting this rendering (found also in the R.V., Lightfoot's commentary, et al.), gives this exposition of it: "If the words are so taken the meaning must be that the powers of evil had entrenched themselves in Christ's fleshly nature. 'He that knew no sin was made sin for us,' and in his death threw off this contaminated nature which he had assumed for our sakes, thus breaking free from his enemies."

which was regarded by Paul as the obstacle to richer fellowship with Christ the Spirit — it was sinful flesh. Adam in the flesh had a wondrous fellowship with God until the Fall destroyed it, and even the victory of Christ over the flesh and the outpouring of the Spirit after his ascension cannot fully restore that fellowship for those in Christ as long as they live in the body of sinful flesh inherited from Adam. But departing from the flesh even before the resurrection is an advance towards that knowing "face to face" which can only be "in part" (1 Cor. 13:12) while one is in the flesh.

Another example of the apparently non-derogatory usage of $\sigmaὰρξ$ is its employment to refer to human descent. Christ "was descended from David according to the flesh" (Rom. 1:3). There seems to be no objection to 'demonic' flesh here, until one remembers that Christ came "in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin" (Rom. 8:3) and until one notes the enormous contrast with Christ's position after he left the flesh: "designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness" (Rom. 1:4) — then the sharp opposition between the $\kappaατὰ σὰρκα$ (v. 3) and the $\kappaατὰ πνεῦμα$ (v. 4) stands out. So also with "Abraham, our father according to the flesh" (Rom. 4:1). Though this appears at first to be a neutral reference to the flesh, it should be noted that the Apostle goes on to contrast descent from Abraham according to the flesh with relationship to Abraham according to "promise" and "grace" so that he may be "the father of us all" (v. 16). In another letter Paul speaks of fleshly descent from Abraham as representing "slavery", whereas descent from Abraham "according to the Spirit" is freedom (Gal. 4:21 ff.). Again we find the contrast between

Spirit and flesh. Space fails us to deal with more instances, but the above may serve to shift the burden of proof to one who claims to find in the Pauline letters a 'neutral' or 'natural' conception of flesh.

If what we have been saying is actually what Paul thought about the flesh — that in a very realistic fashion the power of sin has its dwelling and does its destructive work in the very substance of our bodily selves — then the logic of such thinking should lead to the conclusion that the life and destiny of all flesh is profoundly linked. If sin dwells in flesh as such and if it will not be routed from this stronghold as long as this age endures, all who share fleshly existence must know very directly, both inwardly and outwardly, the depredations of sin's activity; and all such beings have great reason to hope for the conquest of sin's power in the flesh. Any evidence that Paul held such a view is also evidence for the accuracy of our estimate of the meaning Paul gave to σαρξ.

Perhaps we can find some evidence in the intensity and clarity of Paul's conviction of the unity of the human race in matters of sin and salvation in spite of all differences of sex, nation, culture, social position, or religious training (Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). He believed unhesitatingly that, without exception, every person is "under sin" and has sinned (Rom. 3:9, 23); and that "no flesh" shall be accepted by God through efforts to keep God's law (Rom. 3:20, A.V.). He believed that the one gospel of Christ, who came in the likeness of our sinful flesh and for sin (Rom. 8:3),¹ provides the power for salvation which every person needs (Rom.

¹Cf. A. Richardson (ed.), A Theological Word Book of the Bible, London, 1950, p. 84, "Jesus came in the likeness of sinful flesh...to condemn sin in the flesh, i.e. the victory was won where sin is strongest and man weakest."

1:16).

Even more impressive evidence is Paul's conviction that the whole sub-human creation -- whose flesh was made like man's from the dust of the same earth -- fell under the bondage to $\phi\thetaορ\alpha$ with man and will also be liberated with man (Rom. 8:19 ff.).

One can speculate with considerable confidence as to what Paul saw in the following words from Genesis:

Now the earth was corrupt in God's sight, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth. And God said to Noah, "I have determined to make an end of all flesh; for the earth is filled with violence through them; behold, I will destroy them with the earth." (6:11-13)

And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, birds, cattle, beasts, all swarming creatures that swarm upon the earth, and every man. (7:21)

Paul saw that "all flesh" means both all men and also all living creatures including man.¹ He saw the close relationship between the "earth" and "flesh". And, most important, "all flesh" had become corrupt, so "all flesh" died. The result of the corruption of flesh by sin is death, and since the animal creation shares man's flesh they share in the death which follows upon man's corruption. The whole order of nature was thrown awry until, in God's mercy, the harmony of the seasons was restored (8:22). All of this helped to form or confirm Paul's understanding of Gen. 3.

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¹Cf. The Body, p. 21, "Now, man as 'flesh' is related to God in this way, not as an individual, but as part of the whole world-order. Here again the typical Old Testament presuppositions come to the surface in Pauline thought. For man over against God is man as a creature, bound up in the

Our investigation of Paul's use of $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ and $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$ points to the conclusion that a clear theological conception lies behind the fact that the Pauline form of "inaugurated" eschatology puts emphasis on possession of the Spirit while postponing the outward, bodily redemption until the Parousia. In Adam all men in this age experience the inner and outer miseries of having bodies of flesh in which sin resides. For those who are also in Christ, however, there is a wonderful present victory and an even more wonderful future hope. There is for them an inner liberation from "the law of sin" which means that they have passed from spiritual death to spiritual life -- although their new life in Christ is continuously menaced by sin in the flesh. Outwardly, however, the believer's lot continues essentially unchanged,¹ and he must patiently await the great transformation when his body of humiliation will be exchanged for a body of glory.

bundle of created existence. Hence $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$ for Paul means man in his "worldliness", in the solidarity of earthly existence."

Cf. Bultmann, Theology of the N.T., I, p. 234 f. B. agrees that, with Paul, "sarx can mean the whole sphere of that which is earthly or 'natural'," but he believes that Paul restricted this to that which concerns man only. He offers as evidence that $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$ means "the animate flesh of man" rather than animals the fact that Paul twice (Rom. 14:21; 1 Cor. 8:13) uses $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ when referring to "animal flesh intended for food" instead of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$. Perhaps in the German language this seems like evidence, since there "fleisch" means both "flesh" and "food". But it would appear that Paul's usage was more like that of the English language, because in 1 Cor. 15:39, when speaking of the living bodies of men, animals, birds, and fish he uses $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\varsigma$. The flesh is different in each but it is all flesh.

¹Cf. E. Brunner, Dogmatics, III, p. 387, "We live indeed as men in principle set free from sin, but visibly and empirically marked by it....We are still in 'the body of death', therefore some part of death is still our lot. This residue is physical, bodily death."

CHAPTER EIGHT

Death as Suffering and Bodily Weakness

The Apostle Paul inherited from the Old Testament a dynamic conception of death. It is there seen as a reality which extends its power into the land of the living. The ancient Israelites conceived of death not simply as that which lies beyond life but rather as that which is always combatting life, hedging it round and seeking to compromise it and to overwhelm it. J. Pedersen has expressed it thus:

The Israelitic conception of the universe is an expression of the conflict between life and death or, rather, the fight for life against death. The land of life lies in the centre, on all hands surrounded by the land of death. The wilderness lies outside, the realm of death and the ocean below, but they send in their tentacles from all sides, and make the world a mixture of life and death, of light and darkness.¹

Christoph Barth,² following Pedersen, understands the Israelitic conception of the realm of death (Totenreich) to be not so much a place as a sphere, with that sphere being present in every reality which negates life.³ The realm of death is not only the grave and the underworld but is to be found in such things as the desert and the ocean.⁴ Whether in Palestine or Egypt or Babylon the desert, where life diminishes to the vanishing point, is not far away and largely encircles the land of the living. There the reality of death's power is seen; in a variety of ways it is like the

¹J. Pedersen, Israel, I-II, London, 1926, p. 470.

²Die Erretung vom Tode, Zollikon, 1924.

³See *ibid.*, pp. 88 ff.

⁴See *ibid.*, p. 86, "Der Tod als räumliches Phänomen erlaubt —, nein, er verlangt verschiedene Wege der Beschreibung und Lokalisierung."

grave: "Fast alle Eigenschaften des Grabes: trostlose Ewigkeit, Gefangenschaft in der Nichtigkeit, Einsamkeit und Verlassenheit, Hunger, Durst, Ohnmacht, Zerstörung und Tod — sind zugleich Eigenschaften der Wüste."¹

So also with the ocean. God made the life of our earth possible, according to Gen. 1, by "separating" the waters, leaving a living space between the waters above and the great deep below. God's restraining hand keeps the waters above and the waters below, and the waters which surround the dry land, from overwhelming life. When he removed this restraint, "all the fountains of the great deep burst forth, and the windows of the heavens were opened" so that even "all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered" (Gen. 7). And the earth died; the realm of death prevailed everywhere but in the ark.² The overwhelming flood became a symbol of all disasters which threaten life.

Deep calls to deep at the thunder of thy cataracts;
all thy waves and thy billows have gone over me (Ps. 42:7).

For the waves of death encompassed me,
the torrents of perdition assailed me;
the cords of Sheol entangled me,
the snares of death confronted me (2 Sam. 22:5, 6 = Ps. 18:3, 4).

Sickness was seen as an important manifestation of the power of death reaching into the realm of life. While feeling ill — fiery fever, sharp pains, weary enervation, loss of appetite, sleeplessness — the Israelite sensed in his own person the life-negating power of Sheol. Laid low, deprived of freedom and energy to fulfil the duties of life and to worship God in his temple, he felt that he had already begun the weak, half-life

¹Loc. cit.

²See *ibid.*, p. 85, "In der übermächtigen und zerstörenden Flut sieht man das böse Wesen des Todes verkörpert."

of Sheol.¹ Other dangerous situations produced the same conviction, such as persecution at the hands of powerful enemies. Anything which compromised healthy, joyous, free living was seen as the presence and power of Sheol.²

My soul is full of troubles,
and my life draws near to Sheol
I am reckoned among those who go down to the Pit;
I am a man who has no strength,
like one forsaken among the dead,
like the slain that lie in the grave,
like those whom thou dost remember no more,
for they are cut off from thy hand.
Thou hast put me in the depths of the Pit,
in the regions dark and deep (Ps. 88:3-6).³

O LORD my God, I cried to thee for help,
and thou hast healed me.
O LORD, thou hast brought up my soul from Sheol,
restored me to life from among those gone down to the Pit
(Ps. 30:2 f.).

¹See *ibid.*, p. 101, "Wenn man sich überall da im Totenreich befindet, wo der Tod regiert, so muss der Kranke als unter der Macht des Todes stehend betrachtet worden sein....Im Tode ist der Mensch einem langsamen, unaufhaltsamen Zerstörungsprozess unterworfen; am Kranken zeigen sich Symptome desselben Vorgangs....Gerade der Stachel des Todes: die Verwerfung durch Gott, die Ferne von ihm und die Unmöglichkeit, ihn zum Hören und Helfen zu veranlassen, ist zugleich der Stachel der Krankheit. So bietet der Kranke eine greifbare Anschauung der Existenzbedingungen im Totenreich. Was er erlebt, ist aber nicht nur eine Vorwegnahme dessen, was dort auf ihn wartet, sondern die Bitterkeit des Todes selbst. Ihn ängstigt nicht so sehr die Zukunft nach dem Tode, als die Gegenwart: ein Dasein unter der Macht des bösen Todes."

²Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 466, "He who is struck by evil, by unhappiness, disease, or other trouble is in Sheol, and when he escapes from the misery and 'beholds the light', then he has escaped from Sheol. The thought is so obvious to the Israelite, because he is always governed by the totality. If he has any of the nature of Sheol within him, then he feels it entirely. He feels the desolation of the grave, the oppressing darkness; nay, even the waves of the chaotic ocean he feels beating about him with their slime and mud."

³See *ibid.*, p. 469, on Ps. 88: "He is still partly in the land of the living, but, nevertheless, so strong is the hold which misery has on him that he is in Sheol. He feels the darkness of the grave, the desolate lack of strength and blessing of the nether world."

There is also to be found a vivid consciousness of a relationship between sin and death's power. When great and sudden miseries came upon a man, when sickness or other troubles threatened to take him off to Sheol before his time, the conclusion was drawn that he must be guilty of serious sin. This is to be found in the confessions of those who suffered greatly.

O LORD, rebuke me not in thy anger,
nor chasten me in thy wrath!
For thy arrows have sunk into me,
and thy hand has come down on me.
There is no soundness in my flesh
because of thy indignation;
there is no health in my bones
because of my sin.
For my iniquities have gone over my head;
they weigh like a burden too heavy for me (Ps. 38:1-4).

Others, observing such sufferings, took them as evidence of serious sin and were scandalized.

My friends and companions stand aloof from my plague,
and my kinsmen stand afar off (Ps. 38:11).

The book of Job witnesses to this attitude and to the problems it produced. To be subject to death's power could produce an agony of doubt in the person who was not conscious of serious sin, or a feeling of innocence could give assurance of speedy deliverance. When deliverance did come, it provided assurance of God's approval:

He brought me forth into a broad place;
he delivered me because he delighted in me (Ps. 18:17).

If the sufferer had confessed sin as the cause of death's power over him, then deliverance was a sign of God's forgiveness.

When I declared not my sin, my body wasted away
through my groaning all day long....
I said, "I will confess my transgressions to the LORD";
then thou didst forgive the guilt of my sin (Ps. 32:3, 5).

It was believed that the wicked, even while prospering, were living on the very edge of the Pit.¹

I was envious of the arrogant,
when I saw the prosperity of the wicked.
For they have no pangs;
their bodies are sound and sleek....
Truly thou dost set them in slippery places;
thou dost make them fall to ruin.
How they are destroyed in a moment,
swept away utterly by terrors (Ps. 73:3, 4, 19, 20)!

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These Old Testament conceptions about death can all be found in the Pauline letters — not, it is true, in the same form, but different only in that they have been extended. If in the Old Testament death is not merely an experience of the beyond but a reality which is experienced even in the midst of life, this is even more true in Paul. Paul believed that death entered into the world with sin and rules in the present age through sin's power. If in the Old Testament Sheol is not only a place in the deeps where the dead dwell but includes also all graves and everything which combats life, in Paul's writings no reference at all can be found to a locality where the dead are and where death reigns alone.² If in the Old Testament the experience of death's power is often attributed to sin, in Paul death and sin have become completely identified. Death

¹Cf. *ibid.*, p. 466, "The sinner goes to Sheol, but in reality he is there already."

²Although Paul's cosmological conceptions doubtless involved what is today referred to as a "three-decker" idea of the universe (eg. Phil. 3:10), there is surprisingly little reflection of it in his writings; and it would be difficult to show that any of his theology depends on it. Perhaps the need for demythologizing at this point is being overemphasized.

is wherever sin is and only there; and death in an outward, somatic form -- including sickness, sufferings, and bodily weakness -- is primarily the result not of the sins of the individual who experiences the power of death but of Adam's sin, which admitted the power of sin into all flesh.¹

Since Paul thought of sin in the flesh as a real power which is actively at work in corruptive force -- not only to cause spiritual death but also bodily decay -- we should expect to find in his writings evidence that he saw in his own body and in those of other fleshly beings death actively at work in various ways. It is the special purpose of this chapter to exhibit such evidence -- some of which has, of necessity, already been discussed in the previous chapter.

When Paul wrote that "he who sows to his own flesh will from the flesh reap corruption" (Gal. 6:8), does the "corruption" ($\phi\theta\rho\alpha$) refer to this present life or to what is beyond it? It may seem at first sight to refer to the latter, since it is in apposition to "eternal life". But since Paul taught that through the Spirit it is possible to have some experience of eternal life now, perhaps "corruption" refers to the present and to the beyond.² In that case "corruption" probably refers to various visible,

¹The problem of Job, therefore, must have lost much of its sharpness for Paul. Although Paul still believed that sickness and death could sometimes be attributed to particular sins (Rom. 1:27, 32; 1 Cor. 5:5; 11:30), the fact that the power of sin and death reigns in the flesh of all men as a result of the Fall makes manifestations of death's power in every life inevitable. Furthermore, Paul knew of a far more extreme case of innocent suffering, in which suffering and death were accepted by the Sufferer as God's appointed means for the world's salvation; and he believed that participation in Christ's sufferings makes the future glory greater and more sure.

²Cf. G. S. Duncan, Galatians (MNTC), p. 186, "If in sowing and reaping for the flesh we learn that we cannot deceive God, in sowing and reaping for the Spirit we learn that God does not deceive us."

physical results of sin's activity in the flesh. This interpretation is supported by Rom. 1:27 where Paul speaks of the "reward" which those who indulge in sexual perversion receive ἐν ἐαυτοῖς¹ and which doubtless refers to disease and general physical deterioration which results from such debauchery. In Paul's eyes, surely, this would be special evidence of how sin gives power to death — death being manifested by all malfunctioning and deterioration of the body. This is partly confirmed by the context of Rom. 1:27, which is reminiscent of Gen. 3. The Gentile nations had not received the "oracles of God" as Israel had (Rom. 3:2), but a knowledge of God and of his law has always been available to them (Rom. 1:19 f.; 2:14 ff.). However, they turned away from God to idols and God delivered them over² to "all manner of wickedness", for which they themselves know they "deserve to die" (Rom. 1:18-32). The power of death which comes from sin was already manifest among them, not only in their spiritual separation from God but in their flesh.

But if Paul believed that the death-dealing power of sin is present in all flesh — not just in those whose sins are flagrant — we should expect to find references to its manifestations also in believers. In Gal. 4:13 f. he reminds his readers that it was because of a "weakness of the flesh" that he preached the gospel to them on a former occasion and that this ἀσθένεια of the flesh was a severe test to them, tempting them to reject him and his message with contempt. We have seen that Paul

¹This same pronoun is present also in Gal. 6:8, and in both passages it seems to be accented. This suggests not only that the two passages are related but that both refer importantly to man's present experience in the flesh.

²See term #13 (παράδοσιν) in the appendix.

probably viewed any repulsive bodily deformity as an evidence of the power of sin in the flesh. Do we find any evidence of this here? Well, whatever his illness, it was one which might well have caused a feeling of revulsion in others. Paul recalls with gratitude that the Galatian believers did not "scorn" or "despise" (lit. "spit out") his weakness. G. S. Duncan raises the question, "Is there behind this the idea that they might have regarded him as possessed by an evil spirit?"¹ The violence of the language certainly suggests the likelihood of an attitude which regarded the ailment as having its origin in an evil power. Could it be that Paul himself, when he refers to his illness as "the temptation" (τὸν πειρασμόν) might be thinking of it as something caused by Satan and used by him for his own purposes? A. Souter notes in his definition of πειρασμός that "in Gal. 4:14 the reading τὸν πειρασμόν (without ὑμῶν or other addition) has been taken, on the analogy of modern popular Greek usage, = the devil, the demonic power as the cause of the Apostle's infirmity."² This reminds us of the fact that Paul called his recurring illness a "thorn in the flesh"³ and an ἄγγελος ζατανᾶ which had been given to him to "beat" him (2 Cor. 12:7). Since Paul did not use

¹Galatians (MNTC), p. 140.

²A Pocket Lexicon of the Greek N.T., Oxford, 1925, p. 197. Cf. J. de Zwaan, "Gal. 4,14 aus dem Neugriechischen erklärt", ZNTW, vol. 10, 1909, pp. 246-250.

³The expression τῇ σαρκί could mean "by means of the flesh", i.e. it was the fact of his being somatically in the flesh which made it possible for Satan to get at him in this way. The flesh is the special sphere of sin's activity and gives the evil powers of this age their opportunity. Cf. M. Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, p. 45, "τῇ σαρκί ist die lokale Bestimmung zu σκόλος, nicht Erklärung zu μοι; denn die Wirkung des geschilderten Zustandes auf den Menschen Paulus (μοι) liegt nicht allein auf dem Gebiete der σάρξ."

language loosely, we should give first consideration to the literal meaning of his words: in his flesh an angel of Satan¹ was active to buffet and hinder him and to make it more difficult for others to accept Paul's gospel. Paul had earlier written to the Thessalonian church that his desire to revisit them had been repeatedly defeated because "Satan hindered us" (1 Thess. 2:18), which may possibly be another reference to a recurrent illness.

The clearest expression in the Pauline writings of the conception that death's power is to be found in oppression, illness, the decrepitude of age and all things which lead towards death is found in 2 Cor. 4:12: *ὁ θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται*. Paul is here writing of himself. He had been going through a period of great affliction, during one particular crisis of which "we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself" (2 Cor. 1:8 ff.). His many bitter experiences sometimes tempted him to lose heart (4:1). The determined and sometimes dishonest opposition of enemies towards his missionary efforts, in which he detected the efforts of "the god of this world" (4:2 ff.), caused him afflictions, perplexities, and persecutions which were numerous and severe (4:8 f.). He dared to compare his sufferings to those of Christ; yes, he went even further by identifying them as the *νεκρώσις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* which he was carrying about with him in his body (4:10; cf. Col. 1:24). His body was sharing the "putting to death" of Jesus. He had become very conscious of the

¹This is the view adopted by Dibelius; see *ibid.*, p. 47.

Cf. Plummer, *Second Corinthians* (ICC), p. 351, "Modern writers generally go back to the earliest tradition that the *σκόλος* was some acute malady, so painful and such a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel as to be regarded as the work of the devil."

fragility of his body (4:7) and knew by his bodily sensations and by the look of his body that it was "wasting away" (4:16). He knew that it might soon fail completely (5:1). It was in reference to all of this that he wrote, "Death is at work in us." The wasting away of his body, its increasing fragility, was not, in Paul's thinking, a process of nature¹ — even though it is the rule in this present evil age. He saw in it the "law of sin and death", which has prevailed throughout the cosmos since the Fall. Since then the cosmos has been ruled by forces of darkness² which all make for death. These rulers of the present darkness had been responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus (1 Cor. 2:8) and were the cause of the troubles which were putting debilitating stress on Paul's body. He also identified them with the power of sin in his flesh which caused various bodily malfunctions and increasing weakness. Thus from outside his body and from within they were bringing him towards death.

The fact that the mood of 2 Cor. 4 is one of exultant faith and hope does not militate against our interpretation. The fact that Paul sees in

¹Cf. Karl Rahner, On the Theology of Death, trans. by C. H. Henkey, Edinburgh, 1961, p. 85, "For the Bible and for faith, sickness is not merely a bodily process, but a road toward death as well. Sickness is an imminent death; it is the visible manifestation of the power of sin and of the devil as well as of that weakness of man which, ethically and corporeally, is an expression of sin and of the threat which sin contains."

²Pedersen points out that darkness is an outstanding characteristic of death in O.T. thinking. See Israel, I-II, pp. 464 ff. Darkness is characteristic of the three "non-worlds" of the grave, the ocean deeps, and the desert. Whereas light is life and stands for the values of life — blessing and peace, righteousness and truth — darkness is the power of evil, the true home of which is Sheol. This makes Paul's emphasis on darkness and light in 2 Cor. 4 more meaningful. Clearly for Paul also darkness stood for evil and death whereas light meant the new life of righteousness and glory in Christ.

his sufferings the sufferings of Christ and believes that they are "preparing for us an eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison" (4:17) does not mean that he does not see in them the baleful power of sin in the flesh. This brings us to the remarkable paradox of Paul's teaching about death, the other side of which we shall be discussing in the next three chapters. God is so great that he can make even Satan's destructive work in the flesh serve his saving purpose (1 Cor. 5:5; 2 Cor. 12:7 ff.).

Paul's comparison of his own sufferings with those of Christ makes his thinking in regard to the power of death clearer. Christ took our flesh that he might come to grips with the power of sin and death; and his redeeming death consisted not only of the moment of his decease but also of all the sufferings which led up to his decease. Therefore to suffer with Christ is to share his death¹ and experience with him his triumph over sin in the flesh.

In writing to the church at Philippi, conscious that he might soon be sentenced to death, Paul said that he earnestly desired "that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings,

¹Cf. K. Rahner, op. cit., p. 83, "It should be added that this companionship with the Lord in death, since death is present all through life, also includes companionship with his sufferings. Suffering, consequently, is nothing else than that prolixitas mortis, the extension of death, which St. Gregory the Great calls life which, through suffering, is lost unto death."

Cf. also A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, p. 141, "The dying which the believer experiences with Christ is made manifest in suffering which destroys, or tends to destroy, his life."

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 "Paul treats all suffering as dying, and characterizes it by that term."

becoming like him in his death, that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead" (Phil. 3:10 f.). To know the κοινωνία of Christ's sufferings is to be caused to experience the form (συμμορφίζεσθαι) of his death. In Rom. 8:17 the suffering with Christ which must precede glorification with Christ obviously involves the idea of death, because it was through death that Christ attained unto glory.

Furthermore, Paul regarded bodily suffering as a peculiarly important mark of an apostle of the cross. To be the victim of violent persecution was the mark of an apostle who loyally and consistently proclaimed the word of the cross, stumbling-block as it was (Gal. 5:11). The στίγματα which Paul carried on his body (Gal. 6:17) were vivid evidences that he belonged to the one who suffered unto death on a cross after being scourged. That the sufferings he underwent as an apostle were regarded by him as a form of dying is manifested by his choice of words. The perils which he suffered constantly in Ephesus were, he writes, a daily dying (καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνῄσκω, 1 Cor. 15:31). The apostles were "like men sentenced to death" (1 Cor. 4:9), becoming objects of derision reminiscent of the derision Jesus experienced during his last hours. Appearing as fools to the 'wise' of the age, they provided a spectacle of weakness: in disrepute, hungry, thirsty, ill clad, buffeted, homeless, labouring with their own hands, reviled, persecuted, slandered, they appeared to be "the refuse of the world, the offscouring of all things" (1 Cor. 4:9 ff.). Paul believed that his endurance in many sufferings commended him as a servant of God, in the midst of which he was "dying", but by the grace of God, behold, he still lived (2 Cor. 6:4 ff.). In an

anguish of "boasting" against those who disparaged him in Corinth, he reminded his readers that he had been ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις (2 Cor. 11:23). Paul could boast of many kinds of weaknesses (2 Cor. 11:29 ff.; 12:9 f.), because Christ "was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God" (2 Cor. 13:4).

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We may conclude, therefore, that Paul saw the reality of death in every form of weakness and illness and in every other experience which makes for death. And he saw these manifestations of death as the result of the activity of sinful powers active throughout the cosmos — not excluding the bodies of believers.

CHAPTER NINE

The Death of Christ as Salvation

We have arrived at the watershed of our exposition of Paul's theology of death. Until now we have been considering themes found in the letters of Paul in which death is treated as an unmitigated evil. For Paul, moreover, death is not just one of the evils which man experiences, nor is it just the culminating evil. We have seen that his conception of death includes all evils, i.e. it includes all the corruptions which the power of sin works in God's good creation. It expresses the whole condition of an aeon which is alienated from God by sin.

Now we shall undertake to present the Pauline themes about death which treat it as necessary to salvation. These themes occupy a place in the theology of Paul at least as prominent as those with which we have dealt. Nothing is more important in Paul's gospel of redemption than the death of Christ. It is so central that Paul could term his gospel "the word^{message} of the cross" (ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 1 Cor. 1:18). Paul was well aware that the proclamation of a Saviour who died by crucifixion was generally regarded as arrant stupidity (μωρία, 1 Cor. 1:18), but he nonetheless gave to the death of Jesus the greatest prominence in his missionary message (Gal. 3:1). Paul "gloried" in the cross of Jesus (Gal. 6:14) and insisted that the gospel of the cross is "the power of God" to those "who are being saved" (1 Cor. 1:18). It was the death of Christ, above all, which gave Paul assurance of the love of God for sinners (Rom. 5:6 ff.). Furthermore, when Paul analysed the manner in which Christ's salvation is applied to the believer he again found this to consist in dying. Redemption from the power of sin and death

comes by dying with Christ in order to share his resurrection. This applies not only to dying in a spiritual-ethical sense but also in the literal, somatic sense.

What should we do with this paradox? How are we to understand this double way of treating death? How can death be both evil and redemptive? Certainly we cannot simply recognize this difficult duality and then leave it, with the observation that high truth — and especially religious truth — is usually paradoxical. We must try to see how Paul himself lived with this strange double truth. It may seem that we should leave this problem until the new themes are independently explored, but the problem is too important to be postponed. Furthermore, we shall see that a consideration of the nature of this paradox leads quickly into the very heart of the new themes and helps to illuminate them.

One way to resolve the apparent contradiction in Paul's teaching is that adopted by Karl Rahner in his book On the Theology of Death. After having dealt in chapter 2 with "Death as the Consequence of Sin", in which he asserts that "the most prominent characteristic of death is that in it sin is revealed",¹ he goes on in chapter 3 to treat of "Death as Dying with Christ". There he meets our problem of how death can be both the result of sin and the way of salvation by taking the position that death has a "neutral core" which enables it to become one or the other. He speaks of "the theological postulate which affirms that if death did not have this natural and, consequently, neutral core, then it could not be

¹K. Rahner, On the Theology of Death, trans. by C. Henkey, Edinburgh, 1961, p. 62. See also, *ibid.*, p. 44.

an event of salvation and of damnation".¹ We have already seen² that K. Barth takes the same position. Admitting that the Scriptures lay great emphasis on the idea that death is the effect of sin and is therefore unnatural, he nonetheless feels that the position must be upheld that "we have to be finite, to be able to die, for the ἐφ' ἧς of the redemption accomplished in Christ to take effect for us". It is "not intrinsically negative and evil", therefore, that we are finite and mortal because finite.³

It must be admitted that this is a neat way of handling our paradox — and also attractive in that it meets the current demand that every 'rational' person must accept the evidence of natural science that death is a natural, biological necessity. But we must ask, "Is it the mind of Paul?" In chapter 3 we examined the evidence offered by those who say that Paul recognized the naturalness of death, and we found the evidence wanting. Furthermore, the whole pattern of Paul's thinking as it has emerged thus far seems to fit best with the view that, at bottom, Paul's conception of death is very simple: death in all its forms exists only because of sin.

But, it can be objected, this apparent simplicity appears only because our investigations thus far have been limited to one side of the paradox. Now we begin to explore Paul's thinking about death as God's appointed means of salvation. Isn't it simply intolerable to say that

¹Ibid., p. 64.

²Chapter 3.

³Church Dogmatics, III, 2, p. 631.

death is always and only the result of sin when it is recognized that death is also the instrument of God's saving love?

Since all of Paul's teaching about death as salvation centres in the death of Christ,¹ perhaps we can find the Pauline answer to this question by asking first why the Apostle was so sure that the death of Christ manifested the redeeming love of God. Paul was sure of this because he was sure that the death of Jesus was substitutionary. The death of Jesus is the purest instance of dying for others. Why? Because the death he died was totally undeserved. Death is deserved only where there is sin, and Christ "knew no sin" (2 Cor. 5:21). To one who believed in the sinlessness of Jesus and also that death is never merely natural but always the work of sin, the idea that the death of Jesus was vicarious would be inevitable — that is, if he also believed, as Paul did, that God is the just Lord of all things. However uncertain or unconvincing various theories of the atonement may be, there can be no uncertainty that Paul viewed the death of Jesus as substitutionary. Nothing could be clearer than 2 Cor. 5:21: "For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God."

Although the death of Jesus is not mentioned in these words, that is, of course, what Paul had in mind, as James Denney in his book on The Death of Christ has pointed out:

There need not be any misunderstanding as to what is meant by the words, Him that knew no sin He made to be sin for us.

¹ Cf. James Denney, The Death of Christ, London, 1902, p. 10, "Of all New Testament writers he is the one who has most deliberately and continually reflected on Christ's death; if there is a conscious theology of it anywhere it is with him."

To every one who has noticed that St. Paul constantly defines Christ's death, and nothing but His death, by relation to sin, and who can recall similar passages in the Epistle to the Galatians or to the Romans,...it is obvious that these tremendous words cover precisely the same meaning as 'He died for our sins.' When the sinless one, in obedience to the will of the Father, died on the Cross the death of all, the death in which sin had involved all, then, and in that sense, God made Him to be sin for all. But what is meant by saying, 'in that sense'? It means, 'in the sense of His death.'¹

In other words, Christ died the death of a sinner. Although he accepted death in obedience to the Father (Gal. 1:4) and out of love for his enemies (Rom. 5:6 ff.), he did not die the death of a righteous man but only that of a sinner, "having become a curse for us" (Gal. 3:13). Had his death been any other kind of death than that which is due to sin, it could not be the means by which sinners are redeemed.² Here we see why it is important to resist every effort to compromise the singleness of Paul's view of death. It helps us to see why Paul's theology was so single and so confident on the point that salvation is by the grace of Jesus Christ alone. It also helps us to see why his view of Christ's redemption is so comprehensive. If death in all its forms exists only because of sin and is the sum total of sin's destruction, then, when the sinless Son of God died, his death became the one all-sufficient means for the whole world's full

¹Ibid., p. 147 f.

²Cf. *ibid.*, p. 126, "It was sin which made death, and not something else, necessary as a demonstration of God's love and Christ's. Why was this so? The answer of the apostle is that it was so because sin had involved us in death, and there was no possibility of Christ's dealing with sin effectually except by taking our responsibility in it on himself -- that is, except by dying for it." See also p. 128, "Death is the word which sums up the whole liability of man in relation to sin, and therefore when Christ came to give Himself for our sins He did it by dying."

salvation.

It staggers our understanding, of course, how God, who is all-righteous, could make Christ in his death "to be sin who knew no sin" and thereby to save us. Paul did not undertake to explain it. He only proclaimed what he took to be a fact. He believed the sinlessness of Jesus to be a fact, and he knew that his brutal, undeserved death was a fact. He also experienced the redemptive power of the One who was dead and is alive again. From these three facts -- and guided by his religious heritage, his meeting with the Christ of glory, and the illumination of the Spirit -- he drew a conclusion which he could not understand but which he was able to proclaim with the greatest confidence to be a fact.

Though we cannot understand how God can make an event which is wholly the effect of sin a means of salvation, yet faith can discern that this happens again and again. Take, for instance, the case of Joseph son of Israel -- on which Paul doubtless meditated deeply, since in it there are striking parallels to the experience of our Lord. Joseph was hated by his brothers because he was the beloved of their father, because he opposed their evil deeds, and because of his dreams of coming glory. They would have his life, they cast him into a pit, and they sold him for silver. Exile, slavery, and unjust imprisonment became his lot. And yet, by the hand of God he was raised to glory and in that position he was able to save his brothers and their families from death by starvation. Joseph understood this and said to his brothers, "You meant evil against me, but God meant it for good" (Gen. 50:20). That does not mean that hatred, deceit, exile, slavery, and imprisonment are turned into good things. What the brothers did was evil,

only evil; but God was nonetheless in it all for redemptive ends.¹

Another event which Paul regarded as a measureless evil, which he would have gone to any lengths to prevent or reverse, was the rejection of the gospel by most of his kinsmen (Rom. 9:1 ff.). Yet Paul believed God to be using this fact for redemptive ends. Because of it the gentiles were more readily receiving the gospel. The Jews had, therefore, become "enemies of God" for the sake of the gentiles, who were receiving "mercy because of their disobedience". But this would eventually lead to mercy for the Jews also. "For God has consigned all men to disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:28 ff.). Paul could not understand this, although he believed it to be true.² He could only exclaim:

O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways! (Rom. 11:33)

This is comparable to Paul's baffling teaching about the law. It is, he insisted, "holy, just, and good." But it also incites sin and so becomes a means to spiritual death. However, even when law serves to increase disobedience of the law the purposes of grace are served.

Law came in, to increase the trespass; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more, so that, as sin reigned in death, grace also might reign through righteousness to eternal life through Jesus Christ our

¹This may be said also of the Babylonian exile -- from which came Isaiah 53.

²It might also be noted, again, that Paul believed that God is able to use Satan's destructive activities to serve the purposes of grace (1 Cor. 5:5, 2 Cor. 12:7 ff.). But that does not mean that Paul regarded Satan as in any way neutral or good. Cf. O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, pp. 28 f., "Just as sin is something opposed to God, so is its consequence, death. To be sure, God can make use of death (1 Corinthians 15:35 ff, John 12:24) as He can make use of Satan to man."

Lord (Rom. 5:20f.).

In just that place where sin becomes most glaring the triumph of God's grace becomes most complete. Paul's grounds for making this startlingly paradoxical assertion must have been, above all, the death of Jesus.

There sin won its greatest triumph, and there sin was utterly defeated.

There are two baffling mysteries here: the mystery of iniquity and the mystery of grace. In the cross of Christ these two mysteries are combined and then compounded to the ultimate. Since this is true, we must not seek any easy resolution of our paradox. So when Barth says, "If His dying -- in virtue of what it was as His -- is the sum total of the good which God has shown to the world, how can we dare to understand man's mortality as something intrinsically negative and evil?",¹ we have reason to answer: "Paul dared to do just that."

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In the early chapters of First Corinthians Paul sets the cross of Christ and its power against the "eloquent wisdom" (1:17) so prized by many of the Corinthian believers. He boldly accepts the judgment that by the wisdom of this age the word of the cross is absurd. He will offer no "plausible words of wisdom" in commending it, because the only appropriate way to commend the word of the cross is to offer it in weakness and trembling, expecting God to witness to it by a "demonstration of the Spirit and power" (2:3 ff.). The word of the cross is wisdom indeed, but it is "a secret and hidden wisdom of God" which utterly transcends the rational

¹Op. cit., p. 630.

judgments of this age — even when used by believers. This wisdom is revealed wisdom, and it is given by the Spirit to those who possess the Spirit. Spiritual men do indeed "understand" this wisdom, but this is because it is "spiritually discerned" rather than rationally comprehended (2:6 ff.). Having been revealed by the Spirit it must not be thought that it can be subjected to the same kind of rational analysis which is applied to human knowledge.

As an example of how impossible it is to understand this revealed wisdom or to commend it on any basis acceptable to the wisdom of this present age, Paul declares:

None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. (2:8)

That is, the invisible $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ who dominate the present evil age¹ — and operate through visible rulers like Pontius Pilate — made the fatal mistake when they hounded Jesus to the cross; because in crucifying him they not only let him slip from their grasp, but as the resurrected, glorified Son of God in power (Rom. 1:4) Christ now faces them as an invincible opponent who has defeated them in the very center of their power — the flesh

¹Robertson and Plummer (ICC, pp. 39 f.) reject the idea that the $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ are anything but "the rulers who took part in crucifying the Christ" and give as their reason the fact that Paul attributes to them lack of discernment. But that is just the point! If even the super-human $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ did not understand how the death of Christ could be the power of God to salvation, then certainly no mere man can understand it — unless it is revealed to him by the Spirit. It is to be noted that in Eph. 3:10 we find clearly expressed the conviction that the church knows mysteries which are hidden to "the principalities and powers in the heavenly places."

Moffatt (MNTC, p. 29) says that, "In his apocalyptic vision of the cross, Paul sees supernatural Powers of evil at work, making a misguided effort to crush the Lord of glory."

— and will one day make his victory over them absolute and final (1 Cor. 15:24). The reason for their mistake is that they did not know the "secret and hidden wisdom of God" which "God has revealed to us through the Spirit" (1 Cor. 2:7, 10). What is the nature of this wisdom? Well, Paul says that had they known it they "would not have crucified the Lord of glory". Did Paul mean that they did not recognize that Jesus was the incarnate Son of God?¹ Since the demons seemed to recognize in Jesus the presence of the Holy One (Mk. 1:24) more readily than even the disciples, and Paul himself had a similar experience (Acts 16:17), it is more likely that it was an even deeper and stranger mystery having to do with the crucifixion itself — the mystery of how God could redeem the world through the death of his Son.² It was because the ἀρχαί could not possibly understand such wisdom that they made their great blunder.³

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¹Cf. J. Moffatt, *ibid.*, p. 30, "In the Ascension of Isaiah and the epistles of bishop Ignatius...the Powers are represented as so stupid that they missed or permitted the entry of a disguised Christ into the world." So also Bultmann, N.T. Theology, I, p. 175, "The Gnostic idea that Christ's earthly garment of flesh was the disguise in consequence of which the world rulers failed to recognize him...lurks behind 1 Cor. 2:8."

²E. F. Scott, commenting on Col. 2:15 (MNTC, p. 48) and referring to 1 Cor. 2:6 f., says, "They had thought to defeat God's plan by slaying His incarnate Son, and all the time the very purpose of God had been that Christ should conquer man's enemies by his death."

³Cf. G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp. 90 ff. "We are now in a position to appreciate the blunder which the rulers of this age committed when they crucified the Lord of Glory. The control which they exercised over human life was the result of the universality of sin, and they claimed control over Christ because he too was a man. What they did not realize was that Christ belonged to the corporate unity of mankind not by nature but by his own free choice....Because he identified himself with sinful humanity without actually committing sin, death could never be for him what it was

However, we have been dealing only with the death of Christ. Paul teaches that the death of other persons also can be instrumental to salvation — for those "in Christ". But this is not really something different. The death of Christ is, for Paul, the only death with power to save. Death becomes a saving experience for the believer only insofar as he enters into, becomes identified with the death of Christ (Rom. 6:2 f.; Phil. 3:10 f.). No statement can be found in the Pauline writings which says that death as such has any saving effects.¹

Barth says that we have to be able to die if the saving effects of Christ's death are to be ours; therefore, the death which enables us to share the $\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ of Christ's redemption is no longer evil. However, according to Paul the $\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ of Christ was his death $\tau\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Rom. 6:10). This means that in his death he finished with sin; he became liberated from its burden and power. But this was only because his death was wholly the effect of sin.² The sinful powers did everything they could to him; his death was their masterpiece. They failed, but only because Christ submitted himself

for the sinner. Sin separates man from God, and death is the final separation, the final defeat. But for him who knew no sin, death had exactly the opposite effect....The rulers of this age would not have crucified the Lord of glory if they had known that in so doing they were not gaining control over Christ but losing control over all men."

¹"He who has died is freed (or "justified", $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\psi$) from sin" (Rom. 6:7), may appear to be such a statement; but the next verse makes plain that the death which liberates from sin is the death which is "with Christ".

²Cf. Sanday and Headlam on Rom. 6:10 (ICC, p. 160), "In what sense did Christ die to sin? The phrase seems to point back to v. 7 above: Sin ceased to have any claim upon Him. But how could Sin have a claim upon Him 'who had no acquaintance with sin' (2 Cor. 5:21)? The same verse which tells us this supplies the answer... 'the Sinless One for our sake was treated as if He were sinful.'...It was in His Death that this pressure of human sin culminated; but it was also in His Death that it came to an end, decisively and forever."

fully to their blows. He allowed himself to be treated as a sinner for our sakes and achieved a once-for-all victory — for himself and for all men.

"In speaking of Christ," observes Leenhardt on Rom. 6:10, "Paul is thinking also of the believer who is united to Him by faith. For this unique death objectively includes the death of all."¹

If, then, Christ's victorious death was wholly caused by sin and includes whatever victorious dying the believer does, we are forbidden to treat the believer's death in a light-hearted manner. Christ became like us sinners and died an inexpressibly horrible death at the hands of sin. He did not change the character of death, but he triumphed through it and makes it possible for us to do the same. Now it is for us, says Paul, to be willing to become like Christ² — to join him in the death he died no matter how costly it may be for us inwardly and outwardly. There is danger, if we begin to treat death as something less than evil, that the hard imperatives involved in Paul's teaching about dying with Christ will be lost. There is danger that the grace of God will become "cheap grace".³ Further discussion of the believer's death in Christ will be found in the next two chapters.

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¹The Epistle to the Romans, p. 164.

²Paul's appeal to the Galatian Christians, "Brethren, I beseech you become as I am, for I also have become as you are," may well have taken this form because Paul had often meditated in just such terms on his own relationship to Christ. If Christ had become man in order to endure the sufferings and death due to Paul's sins, then Paul should not be content to live a life of ease — he must be willing and eager to join Christ in his suffering and death (Phil. 1:27 f.).

³See D. Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship, trans. by R. H. Fuller and I. Booth, 6th ed., London, 1959, pp. 35 ff.

In seeking to understand what the Pauline letters have to say about why and in what ways the death of Christ is salvation, it is possible to detect three determinative principles. The first is this: the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ are but two sides of the one great salvation event. The two must be treated as intrinsically united, so that one cannot in any way be understood or evaluated apart from the other. Any attempt to understand them separately, any effort to judge which Paul regarded as more important to salvation, is an artificial abstraction which will result in a distortion of the Apostle's teaching. Just as he regarded sin and death as not two distinct realities but as really two aspects of the same thing -- neither is to be found apart from the other -- so he regarded righteousness and life as inseparable. Paul's understanding of the death and the resurrection of Christ combines the sin-death unity with the righteousness-life unity. The death of Christ was because of sin; if it were not for sin he would not have died. At the same time, however, his acceptance of the death of a sinner was an act of perfect obedience, trust, and love (the very opposite of Adam's disobedient act of distrust and self-love), and it therefore resulted in life in fullest proportions. Perfect righteousness equals perfect life. Paul's theology implies that if Christ's death had been anything less than a perfect act of righteousness, death would have defeated him. The fact that death could not hold him is not simply to be attributed to the fact that he was the incarnate Son. His victory is rather to be attributed to the fact that the Son of God lived as man without sinning and accepted immolation for sinners as the crowning act of righteousness. The glory of his resurrection life is the result of

his complete self-emptying, his counting others better than himself all the way to death on a cross (Phil. 2:3 ff.).

How closely Paul associated the death with the resurrection of Christ as one redemptive whole is indicated, for instance, by Rom. 4:24 f. Speaking of the righteousness which was reckoned to Abraham because of his faith, he says that righteousness "will be reckoned to us who believe in him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification." Justification was the goal and this was achieved by his death and his resurrection. Christ's death for our trespasses was fulfilled in his resurrection. One could not have assured us of forgiveness without the other. "If Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile and you are still in your sins" (1 Cor. 15:17).

Again, in Rom. 10:9 Paul writes, "If you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved." It isn't as if Paul forgot for a moment that the saving gospel is "the word of the cross" and is now saying that faith in the word of the resurrection is what saves. In explaining what "the righteousness based on faith" (v. 6) is -- as contrasted with "the righteousness which is based on the law" (v. 5) -- he builds his explanation into language borrowed from Moses. This language and his argument make it fitting, for literary reasons, to refer to Christ's death-resurrection as "God raised him from the dead". Reference to both his death and his resurrection is contained in reference to one of them. So closely were they united in Paul's thinking.

Again, in Col. 2:12 Paul writes, "You were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God,

who raised him from the dead." Baptism into Christ is baptism into both his death and his resurrection at once. Although in Rom. 6:3 ff. baptism is likened to a burial and emphasis is on baptism into the death of Christ, the idea of resurrection is both implicit and explicit. Baptism unites the believer with Christ in his death to the end that "as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life." Unless there is newness of life there is no union with him who both died and rose again. To die with Christ is to die to sin (v. 2), and death to sin is at the same time life to righteousness. To die to sin and to have newness of life mean exactly the same thing.

The second determinative principle in Paul's thinking about Christ's death as salvation is this: Jesus Christ is himself the most notable beneficiary of the salvation won by his death. There is no benefit from his death which others know or will know which is not also a benefit which he himself enjoys. Therefore, also, one way of determining what Paul believed the salvatory effects of Christ's death are or will be for believers is to inquire what Paul conceived to be the benefits which our Lord himself now experiences as the result of his death-resurrection.

This principle derives from Paul's thoroughgoing doctrine of the incarnation. He understood that when Christ became man this was no half-way or temporary measure. He believed that Christ's humanity was and continues to be complete. He identified himself so completely with man and his predicament that he himself stood in need of redemption.¹ When he became man he

¹Cf. D. M. Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, Rome, 1961, p. 273, "This attitude of Paul towards the earthly condition

"emptied himself" (Phil. 2:7); he was "born of woman, born under the law" (Gal. 4:4) "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3).¹ He made himself a part of man's lostness at every point except that he never sinned. But even there, out of obedience to the Father and love for his brothers, he did not remain aloof but became obligated for other men's sins. Therefore, the curse of the law was upon him (Gal. 3:13), and he had to die. This dying — worst of all — involved the experience of alienation from God: spiritual death.² Furthermore, since he shared sinful flesh with other men he knew the miseries which sin works in the body, and his untainted spirit was subjected to all the temptations which are common to man. And being fully a part of this present evil age he was subject to the attacks of all the evil powers which dominate it.

The predicament in which Jesus found himself as man was altogether human and altogether real. He was no more able to evade it than any man is able to evade it, and the penalty for failure would be no less. Had he ever joined in the first Adam's sin there would have been no more sal-

of Jesus, which he assumed in order to share the universal sentence condemning all men to undergo suffering and death, may be faithfully represented in modern theological terms by saying that the mortal Christ, for Paul, appeared as man-to-be-redeemed."

¹Cf. James Denney, The Death of Christ, p. 188, "ὁμοίωμα here no doubt emphasises Christ's likeness to us: it is not meant to suggest difference or unreality in His nature."

²Cf. O. Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 24 f., "Because [death] is God's enemy, it separates us from God, who is Life and the Creator of all life. Jesus, who is so closely tied to God, tied as no other man has ever been, for precisely this reason must experience death much more terribly than any other man. To be in the hands of the great enemy of God means to be forsaken by God. In a way quite different from others, Jesus must suffer this abandonment, this separation from God, the only condition really to be feared. Therefore he cries to God: 'Why hast thou forsaken me?' He is now actually in the hands of God's great enemy."

vation for him than for us in his death. There would have been no resurrection, no glory at the right hand of God. The enemy powers would have succeeded.

This possibility is never mentioned in Paul's writings, but all of his thinking about sin and salvation had such a dynamic character it is plain that he regarded the conflict which Jesus conducted against the forces of evil while in the flesh — and which he now continues "until he has put all his enemies under his feet" (1 Cor. 15:25) — was a genuine conflict and his victory over them a real victory which had often hung in the balance. There is now no longer any doubt of his complete conquest over his enemies because of that victory which he won over them within their own stronghold.¹ The odds were against him then, when "he was crucified in weakness"; so now there can be no question of his coming full victory because "he lives by the power of God" (2 Cor. 13:4).

Having won the victory over sin and death by his death and resurrection his humanness has not been diminished in the slightest. Instead, he has come into that full human destiny intended by God even before Adam was created. Christ is ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (1 Cor. 15:47) who took on the image of "the man of dust" for our sakes and died the death which is the wages of sin in order that all who "have borne the image of the man of dust" may also "bear the image of the man of heaven" (1 Cor. 15:49).

¹Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 40 f. "If there is really one spiritual body (not an immortal soul, but a spiritual body) which has emerged from a fleshly body, then indeed the power of death is broken.

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 "The whole thought of the New Testament remains for us a book sealed with seven seals if we do not read behind every sentence there this other sentence: Death has already been overcome...there is already a new creation ...the resurrection age is already inaugurated."

The third principle which determined Paul's conclusions about the saving effects of Christ's death is this: the believer is united with Christ in a union so close that what is true of the crucified and risen Christ is also true of the believer.

Much attention has rightly been given to the especially Pauline formula $\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.¹ Paul uses it so often, and it slides out so easily on the tongue, that one readily misses the true dimensions of its meaning.

So frequent and even commonplace has this phrase become in latter-day Christian usage that it is quite possible to miss its significance and fail to realize just how striking it is. It is worth reminding ourselves that no such words have ever been used, or indeed could ever be used, of any of the sons of men: we do not speak of being in St. Francis, or in John Wesley.²

What meaning did Paul intend to give the preposition $\epsilon\upsilon$ when he used it in this way? Very often, if not always, it would appear that Paul gave it a "local" meaning;³ that is, it does not signify merely a forensic or other kind of relationship which would leave Christ and the believer two distinct, separated realities, but it rather describes a relationship which brings the two together into a real unity. Though Paul conceived of Christ as being "highly exalted" (Phil. 2:9) "at the right hand of God" (Rom. 8:34;

¹Cf. A. Deissmann, Paul, trans. by W. E. Wilson, London, 1926, p. 140, "The formula 'in Christ' (or 'in the Lord') occurs 164 times in Paul's writings: it is really the characteristic expression of his Christianity."

²J. S. Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 154.

³Cf. Sanday and Headlam, Romans, (ICC), p. 160, "The relation is conceived as a local relation. The Christian has his being 'in' Christ, as living creatures 'in' the air, as fish 'in' the water, as plants 'in' the earth." (Reference is then made to A. Deissmann, Die neutestamentliche Formel in Christo Jesu, Marburg, 1892, p. 84).

Cf. also J. S. Stewart, op. cit., p. 158, "The words have what may almost be called a local meaning."

Col. 3:1); yet he did not, as a result, think of Christ as at a great remove from the man who is "in Christ". This is shown, for instance, when Paul speaks of Christ being in the believer (Gal. 2:20; Col. 1:27). The believer is, indeed, "away from the Lord" as long as he is in a body of sinful flesh (2 Cor. 5:6 ff.), and he awaits the "coming" of Christ at the end of the age (1 Cor. 15:23); but, at the same time, "Christ is in you" if you "have the Spirit of Christ" (Rom. 8:9 f.), and "your life is hid with Christ in God" (Col. 3:3). Paul does say that there is a sense in which the believer looks forward to being with Christ, but this is because a relationship already exists which is so close, so irrefragable that even death can only make it closer¹ — a relationship through which the believer is in some very real sense caused to be in Christ and Christ in him.

Clearly, Paul conceived of the relationship which exists between Christ and the believer to be a vital and altogether real one which quite transcends the categories which he used in attempting to describe it. One appropriate way of making Paul's various efforts to express the experience of new life in Christ which he and his fellow-believers had is to say that he identified the glorified Christ with the Holy Spirit. Paul, in a very real sense, did this. *ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστίν* (2 Cor. 3:17; cf. Rom. 8:9 f.). Now since the Spirit transcends all earthly limitations of space and time, we are given a category which makes understandable Paul's various ways of describing the relation of the believer with his resurrected Lord.

Christ is Spirit; therefore He can live in Paul and Paul in Him. Just as the air of life, which we breathe, is

¹See chapter 12.

'in' us and fills us, and yet we at the same time live in this air and breathe it, so it is also with the Christ-intimacy of the Apostle Paul: Christ is in him and he in Christ.¹

It would be a mistake, however, to leave the matter here. Paul most certainly did not simply equate the resurrected Christ with the Holy Spirit.² To think so would be to leave out of consideration the exceedingly important Pauline teaching about the continuing reality and saving-efficacy of Christ's identification of himself as man with man and his world. Although Paul conceived of Christ as being no longer *κατὰ σάρκα* (2 Cor. 5:16), yet he believed that the significance and actuality of his humanity had in no way been diminished. His *σῶμα* having become *πνευματικόν*, he no longer, it is true, shares our Adamic heritage as he did in the flesh. But, as a result of the transformation of his body he has come fully and powerfully into his role as the "last Adam".³ His role as man is in no way diminished. "The last Adam became a life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45), but that only increases his ability to deal with the human predicament.⁴

¹A. Deissmann, op. cit., p. 140.

²Cf. J. S. Stewart, op. cit., p. 156. "So close are the ideas of Christ and the Spirit in Paul's mind that he can pass almost without any sense of distinction from one to the other. It is, therefore, natural and legitimate to use the phrase 'in the Spirit' to elucidate the harder phrase 'in Christ.'" However, Weiss is in error "when he declares that Christ and the Spirit are simply identified. The New Testament doctrine is that it is the Spirit who makes Christ real to us and mediates Christ's gifts to us: and this is not 'identity.'"

³Cf. D. M. Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, p. 275. Offering as evidence 1 Cor. 15:45, Stanley asserts that "Paul leaves no doubt that Christ assumed the role of second Adam at the moment of his resurrection." He holds that Paul's subsequent use of the "new Adam" theme in Rom. 5 constitutes a "development" of his use of this idea.

⁴Rahner takes the view (op. cit., p. 34) that the resurrected body which all the redeemed will have will not inhibit "that openness of the spirit to the world as a whole which is attained in death." Speaking of the

The old fleshly limitations are gone, and he can now deal "in power" (Rom. 1:4) with man's needs. Those who believe in him can now be in him and he can be in them, with saving results (cf. John 14-16).

A sharp reminder of the fact that Paul's "Christ mysticism" is a very distinctive kind of mysticism -- which does not simply identify Christ with the Spirit of God but fully conserves the humanness of the Son of God -- is his remarkable conception of the church as the "body" of Christ. Here again, as with the expression "in Christ, we are likely not to realize just how extraordinary this Pauline¹ teaching is. Paul's language has become a commonplace, and we speak of "a body of people", the "body politic", etc.; but the conception has become quite changed. The term "body" has come to stand for the social adhesiveness or unity of a group of people and is, therefore, strictly a metaphor. Therefore, when we refer to the church as the body of Christ we are likely to think of it as a group of people who believe in Christ and fulfil his purposes in the world -- as a people who find their social adhesiveness in their common loyalty to Jesus Christ. Any thought of a literal, organic relationship of believers to Christ and to one another in Christ is almost surely missing. But missing that, we are missing the real point.

description found in 1 Cor. 15 of the glorified body, he writes: "This description seems to indicate that, in its glorified state, the body not only obtains a perfect suppleness and pliability in its relationship to the spirit of man as perfected and divinized by the supernatural action of grace, but also that the bodily structure does not necessarily coincide with man's present restriction to definite spatio-temporal determinations. A bodily existence which is the perfect expression of spirit, though concrete, retains the power or capacity of free and unhampered relations toward everything."

¹Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, p. 9, "For no other New Testament writer has the word σῶμα any doctrinal significance. The whole development of the theology of the body is characteristically his own. And with it is bound up most of his peculiar contribution both to the thought and the discipline of the early Church."

This is not to deny that there is a large metaphorical element involved when Paul teaches that those who believe in Christ constitute his body. He did not mean that Christ is literally a head with believers making up the trunk etc. of a literal body. What Paul did was to make a metaphor of the human body and use that to express his thinking about the real union which believers have with and in Christ. The important thing to realize is that, for Paul, the union of head, trunk, and limbs of a fleshly human body is no more literal, no more 'organic', than the union which exists between Christ and those who by faith and through the power of the Spirit have taken him to be their Lord.

J. A. T. Robinson, speaking of 1 Cor. 6:15, says, "To say that individuals are members of a person is indeed a very violent use of language -- and the context shows that Paul obviously meant it to be violent."¹ He wanted to help his readers to see how shockingly inappropriate harlotry is for those whose bodies are literally, though spiritually (v. 17), united with Christ. Robinson suggests that "corporate" does not sufficiently express the meaning Paul expected his readers to get when he applied the term *σῶμα* to the church: that "corporal" gives a closer meaning.² He says that when Paul called the church *τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* his language "referred as directly to the organism of Christ's person as his other language about 'the body of his flesh.'"³ In other words, just as

¹Ibid., p. 50. Cf. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, 2nd ed., London, 1953, p. 116, "In the whole literature of mysticism there is no problem comparable to this of the mystical body of Christ. How could a thinker come to produce this conception of the extension of the body of a personal being?"

²Loc. cit.

³Ibid., p. 51.

really as Christ was united with and was part of our fallen humanity when his body was a body of flesh, so just as really are those "in Christ" now in union with and part of his glorified humanity. All believers share in the reality of Christ's body of glory; "they are in literal fact the risen organism of Christ's person in all its concrete reality."¹

Albert Schweitzer, who has termed Paul's mysticism "mystico-natural" (mystisch-naturhaft)² in order to emphasize the actually "physical" character of its realism, points out that Paul conceived of a positive continuity between Christ's identity with men before and after his death and resurrection. "That what is in view in the Pauline mysticism is an actual physical union [*eine ganz naturhafte Gemeinschaft*] between Christ and the Elect is proved by the fact that 'being in Christ' corresponds to and, as a state of existence, takes the place of the physical 'being in the flesh.'"³ Robinson's way of making this important point is: "Our contention is that his doctrine of the resurrection body of Christ, under all its forms, is a direct extension of his understanding of the Incarnation."⁴

Paul, of course, understood that the purpose of the mystical union which exists between Christ and the believer is soteriological. The believer is united with the resurrected Christ so that he may receive the salvation from sin and death won by Christ when he became man and as guilty man died on a cross. Through union with Christ he receives "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" who "though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich" (2 Cor. 8:9) with "riches in glory

¹Loc. cit.

²Op. cit., p. 17.

³Ibid., p. 127.

⁴Op. cit., p. 56.

in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 4:19) — "his glorious grace which he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved" in whom "we have redemption through his blood" (Eph. 1:6 f.).

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Let us now, in the light of the three determinative principles, note what Paul has to say about the death of Christ as salvation. We have seen that man's thralldom to the law of sin and death was seen by Paul to consist of the following: 1. spiritual death caused by the guilt of our sins; 2. the power of sin in the flesh which leads us to sin and which causes bodily decay; 3. the power of the law which incites sin in the flesh and sentences us to death for our sins; and 4. the principalities and powers which hold the cosmos in a bondage which makes for death in all its forms. What does Paul have to say about the death of Christ as the answer to each of these four aspects of man's predicament?

Jesus Christ experienced on the cross the full horror of spiritual death — the alienation from God wrought by the guilt of sin. He accepted the curse which the law places on all who are disobedient to God's will (Gal. 3:10 ff.). But his obedient death lifted that curse from him and restored him to communion with his Father. His resurrection is proof of that. Yes, because he was "obedient unto death, even death on a cross.... God has highly exalted him and given him the name which is above every name" (Phil. 2:8 f.). Jesus Christ became "justified from sin" through his death (Rom. 6:7), and he completely met the problem of guilt which separates from God. He met it for himself and for all who are united with

him now in his body. "There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:1).

Some interpreters of Paul think they find two doctrines of redemption in his writings: one which teaches that sinners are justified when they appropriate intellectually the gospel offer which is based on the atoning death of Jesus and another which teaches that salvation comes to him who knows a mystical union with the living Christ. This is to misunderstand Paul's doctrine of faith. Saving faith, to Paul, is not intellectual appropriation; it is rather that response to the gospel offer which consists of a willingness to join Christ in his obedient¹ death τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ in order that he may also be joined with him in his resurrection life.²

When in Rom. 6 Paul begins to talk about the believer having "died to sin" because "united with him in a death like his" he is not suddenly using a new kind of redemption theology. It is to be noted that when, in chapter 3, he speaks of "the righteousness of God through faith in³ Jesus Christ for all who believe" (v. 22) and "an expiation by his blood to be received by faith" (v. 25) he is speaking of a "redemption which is in Christ Jesus" v. 24. What the phrase "in Christ Jesus" meant to Paul be-

¹Cf. Bultmann, Theology of the N.T., I, p. 314, "Paul understands faith primarily as obedience." B. later (p. 316) defines Paul's conception of faith as "the radical renunciation of accomplishment, the obedient submission to the God-determined way of salvation, the taking over of the cross of Christ."

²See the next chapter.

³Literally "faith of Jesus Christ". Though this is probably a "gen. of object" and means simply "faith in Jesus Christ" (ICC, p. 82), it is just possible that Paul chose this grammatical form to express his conviction that saving faith in Jesus Christ includes a participation in what faith required of Christ.

gins to become clear in the fifth chapter, where he speaks of Adam and Christ. And a verse such as 5:19 ("For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience many will be made righteous") is illuminated by chapter 6. As "many" are made sinners by being in Adam and participating in his disobedience, so "many" are made righteous only by being in Christ and participating in his obedient death $\tau\eta\ \xi\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$. This is true of Galatians also, where the statement "a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ" (2:16) is almost immediately followed by "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (2:20), which is immediately followed by "and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." The first and third statements, which teach that salvation is by faith in Christ and what he has done for sinners on the cross, are to be understood in the light of the second, which speaks of the mystical union with Christ (cf. Gal. 3:26 f.; Phil. 3:9 f.).¹ The reason why there are passages in Galatians and Romans which, taken by themselves, appear to teach that the relationship between the believer and Christ is merely a forensic one is because of Paul's need in these letters to counter the efforts of the Judaisers.² He found it effective to contrast faith and works in the sharp-

¹Cf. C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St Paul, p. 99, "The faith which saves is a faith which unites." See also, *ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

Cf. G. Quell, et al., Sin (BKWK), p. 77, "Justification by faith alone is for Paul inseparable from mystical union with Christ."

²Cf. J. S. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 245, "No doubt the Judaistic debate of the first century gave justification a special significance in Paul's writings. No doubt the forensic colour still clings to it. But to regard

est possible way, and in doing this he sometimes does not make immediately clear that faith is effective only because it makes operative the saving union which Christ has with humanity.¹

How did Jesus' death meet the problem of sin in the flesh? Some words of Paul which are highly relevant to this question are those of Rom. 8:3 f.:

God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit.

it as a mere weapon brought into being to meet the exigencies of a passing controversy is entirely gratuitous. It would be better to turn the argument round and say, not that the controversy produced the doctrine of justification, but that the revolutionary religious position implicit in the doctrine produced the controversy. That position, put quite simply, is this: no man can save himself, for 'salvation is of the Lord.'

¹Cf. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, 2nd ed., pp. 205 ff. In discussing Paul's doctrine of righteousness by faith S. raises the question, "Has he two independent conceptions of redemption, one quasi-physical, the other intellectual?" (p. 219). His answer is that "the doctrine of the redemption, which is mentally appropriated through faith, is only a fragment from the more comprehensive mystical redemption-doctrine, which Paul has broken off and polished to give him the particular refraction which he requires" (p. 220). S. treats them as essentially independent, however, asserting (p. 223) that "there are two independent conceptions of the forgiveness of sins. According to the one, God forgives in consequence of the atoning death of Jesus; according to the other, He forgives, because through the dying and rising again with Christ He has caused the flesh and sin to be abolished altogether, so that those who have died and risen with Christ are, in the eyes of God, sinless beings." Again, S. insists that "mysticism has its own doctrine of forgiveness of sins" which is "in no way dependent on Jesus' death being an atoning death" (p. 221). Not only does S. fail to see that the atoning death of Christ is central to Paul's mysticism, but he also fails to see the significance faith has to Paul's mystical doctrine. He holds that Paul had a "preference" for the mystical doctrine, and that the doctrine of forgiveness by faith in Christ's atoning death was really only a formulation for dealing with the defenders of the law. Actually "Paul did not draw the idea of liberation

Ever since Adam by his disobedience alienated the world from its Creator, thereby permitting sin to enter into the world, sin has successfully defended its stronghold in the flesh. In a sense, it had a 'right' to that stronghold because man, the designated lord of the earth, had allowed its entrance and had ever since submitted to its power. But this uncontested reign came to an end when the last Adam died for sinners. He was God's Son, sent into the world to end sin's reign. He took our sinful flesh that he might come to grips with sin in its stronghold. His whole sinless life in the flesh condemned sin's presence in the flesh, but it was his death which clinched the matter.¹ It was through his perfect act of obedience in dying for sinners that the Son brought his mission $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\xi\upsilon\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ to a triumphant conclusion.² In a true human life the power of sin in the flesh had at last been successfully defied. In our very flesh Christ had tasted the power and the effects of sin to the uttermost and had triumphed. The resurrected body of Jesus is the proof and the substance of that triumph. If the body of Jesus had seen corruption ($\phi\thetaο\rho\acute{\alpha}$) sin's 'right' to the flesh would have been confirmed, because corruption is the

from the Law out of the conception of the atoning death of Jesus, but, on the contrary, put that idea into it" (p. 221).

¹C. A. A. Scott, op. cit., p. 52, "In that moment God 'condemned sin in the flesh' (Rom. 8:3), that is to say pronounced the doom of sin as it had found lodgment in the physical constitution of men."

²Cf. F. J. Leenhardt, Romans, p. 203 f. "The phrase 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' is designed to suggest that the Son truly became man so that in His person He could offer Himself as a sacrificial victim validly acceptable as a substitute for man; at the same time it is intended to show that the victim was not enslaved to the tyranny of sin but was holy. This makes clear that the Son does not die for His own sin; it is for the sin of others that He came and was delivered up. Thus sin is condemned in the very sphere where it is manifested ('in the flesh' should be connected with 'condemned' and not with 'sin')."

hallmark of sin's power in the flesh — of sin's triumph. In dying and then rising in a body of glory, the "body of sin" had been successfully destroyed (Rom. 6:6). Through his death Jesus was liberated from sin (Rom. 6:7). This liberation was clearly demonstrated by his resurrection; because "we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again; death no longer has dominion over him" (Rom. 6:9).

Those who are "in Christ Jesus" participate in this liberation. Through dying and rising with Christ they are even in the present aeon given an inner liberation through the "Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" so that "as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6:4), fulfilling "the just requirement of the law". United with the last Adam who is no longer in sinful flesh, whose *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. 6:6) has been destroyed, they have already begun to share his freedom from the power of sin in the flesh. Liberation will become complete when, through their own death and resurrection in Christ, they receive bodies like Christ's body of glory. Then the power of sin in the flesh over both inner and outer man will be completely gone and victory over every kind of death will be complete. "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22).

The death of Christ also liberates from the tyranny of the Law when it liberates from sin. The Law "was added because of transgressions" (Gal. 3:19; cf. Rom. 5:20) and men are "confined under the law" only until by faith they "have put on Christ" (Gal. 3:23 ff.) who overcomes sin. The Law causes death for two reasons: it sentences to death the man who violates the will of God which it reveals and it arouses sin in the flesh,

leading to transgressions. Liberation from the Law comes when the guilt of sin is removed and the "body of sin" is destroyed. This liberation was accomplished through Christ's death.

When the Son of God came to share our life, he was "born under the law" in order to "redeem those who were under the law" (Gal. 4:4 f.). Sharing our sinful flesh, he knew how the Law tends to turn our minds to a desire for something else than humble obedience to God. But such temptation never prevailed with Jesus. Even when facing the cross he was able to say, "Not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mk. 14:36). Showing perfect obedience to his Father even through the experience of a sinner's death, he completely fulfilled the Law; and having fulfilled the Law, he "died to the law".¹ Belonging now to the new aeon of the Spirit, he is free from everything which belongs to the present aeon, which includes the Law.

Therefore the believer, who is a very part of Christ's body has also "died to the law through the body of Christ". Having been "crucified with Christ" — who died under the curse of the Law but having died is now free from the Law in his new life of glory with his Father — the believer can say of himself, "I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God" (Gal. 2:19 f.). Belonging to Christ who has been raised from the dead, the believer is "discharged from the law" and is now serving "not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit." Being under the Spirit

¹Cf. J. S. Stewart, op. cit., p. 117, "Jesus had allowed the tyrant law to have all its way with Him; in the dread deed of Calvary it had spent itself, and had exhausted all the curse; and when He came out victorious on the other side, it meant that the evil bondage was lifted off humanity's heart once for all. The curse was dead. The law was ended."

and not under the Law he is able to deny the passions of the flesh and so "bear fruit for God".

Likewise, my brethren, you have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead in order that we may bear fruit for God. While we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death. But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we serve not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit (Rom. 7:4-6).

Finally, the death of Christ won liberation from the death-dealing dominance of "the world rulers of this present darkness" (Eph. 6:12). As with liberation from the Law, this freedom was achieved through the conquest of sin. The principalities and powers are forces of darkness because they have been suborned by sin. Their power to destroy ends when the power of sin ends.

We have already dealt with Christ's victory over the principalities and powers which he won through his death. In "putting off the body of flesh" in death he also thrust aside their power over him and achieved a most dramatic victory over them (Col. 2:11 ff.). This victory belongs also to those who are united with Christ. They are provided with armour to meet all the attempts of "spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places" to destroy them (Eph. 6:10 ff.). Of course, as long as they are in fleshly bodies the powers of evil will be able to harass them, but they are nonetheless secure in the "love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:38 f.). Though the powers of darkness persecute and even kill them as they did Jesus, this will only mean their deliverance (Phil. 1:19) — because their death will be a sharing in the death of the sinless Son

of God. Just as the ^{2/}ἄρχοντες sealed their own doom when they crucified Jesus, so the more severely they treat those "in Christ" the more operative becomes the believers' saving union with the death and resurrection of Jesus. The more one is made like Jesus in his death the more assurance he has of sharing Christ's resurrection (Phil. 3:10 f.).

When those in Christ are raised from the dead, now fully conformed to the image of God's Son (Rom. 8:29), with bodies of glory like his (Phil. 3:21) and the whole creation redeemed with them (Rom. 8:19), then every ἄρχή and ἐξουσία and δύναμις will have been destroyed — or reconciled (Col. 1:20) — and death shall be no more (1 Cor. 15:24 ff.).

CHAPTER TEN

Death in a Spiritual-Ethical Sense as Salvation

The purpose of this chapter is to show how Paul's teaching about death helps to illuminate his teaching about faith as man's response to Christ's saving activity in his behalf. We shall first note some general characteristics of Paul's teaching about the nature of the saving faith-response, in order that we may the better consider passages in which he speaks of that response in terms of dying.

When the Son of God became man, taking upon himself the body of our flesh, he became a brother to every man. When he died on the cross he "died for all" (2 Cor. 5:14).¹ He is the last Adam, the new head of the human race. His headship is as universal and as comprehensive as that of the first Adam. When he was raised from the dead all men were raised in him, so that "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22). It is God's purpose in Christ "to unite ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota$) all things in him" (Eph. 1:10). Christ was not sent to just one section of the human race, but he came to be Lord of all (Phil. 2:10 f.). In him all earthly distinctions disappear and men become one (Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). Therefore, Paul recognized no élite

¹Cf. R. P. C. Hanson, Second Corinthians (TBC), London, 1954, p. 50. Commenting on 2 Cor. 5:14, Hanson writes: "It is almost shocking to realize how literally St. Paul takes the fact that we are in Christ, even before we are baptized. Here he is saying, without using metaphor or poetic exaggeration, that when Christ died on the Cross, then all men died in him; in some supernatural sense the whole human race died when Christ died, because the Incarnation meant that he was not only the Representative, but also the incorporated Head of the human race, not merely its leader or finest example, but the personified principle of its existence. What happened to him then in some sense happened to the whole race."

of any kind, and he said of his missionary proclamation:

Him we proclaim, warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man mature in Christ. For this I toil, striving with all the energy which he mightily inspires within me (Col. 1:28 f.).

But why did Paul feel that he had to toil energetically and ceaselessly in missionary endeavours, and why did the Lord give him special strength for proclaiming the gospel, if every man's salvation is already achieved by the death and resurrection of Christ? The answer to this question is of the very greatest importance, and the answer is that "the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood" is "received by faith"¹ (Rom. 3:24 f.). The redemption has been achieved, but it must also be received. The reception is by faith: "for a man believes with his heart and so is justified" (Rom. 10:10). The redemption of Christ includes everyone, but each one must be willing to be included if the redemption is to be effective for him.² Redemption is free to all, but it is given in freedom and for freedom — no one is coerced. "There is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him" (Rom. 10:12). But there must be the call; so Paul urgently proclaimed the gospel, hoping that all would call. For "faith comes from what is heard, and what is

¹This is a rather free translation, but it is true to Paul's intention. A literal translation is very clumsy: eg. the R.V., "whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood, to shew his righteousness...." The N.E.B. has, "For God designed him to be the means of expiating sin by his sacrificial death, effective through faith."

²Cf. G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, p. 92 f., "Men belong to Adam by nature but to Christ by consent; and as Christ chose to be identified with sinful men, so they must choose to be identified with him. The new corporate humanity of Christ is an objective reality which becomes a fact of experience only through faith."

heard comes by the preaching of Christ" (Rom. 10:17). The world has been reconciled to God through the death of Christ, but still the apostle must, by God's appointment, exercise his "ministry of reconciliation". All men are "under sin", helplessly bound under the "law of sin and death", and they are incapable of doing anything to win reconciliation with God; but this reconciliation having been won for them by Christ, they must now accept it. Therefore Paul sought to bring his "message of reconciliation" to all men: "We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:18 ff.).¹

It was because Paul was so sure that Christ's death and resurrection has made the life of glory possible for all men that he so restlessly pursued men — all men — with the gospel. But the powers of darkness, though their coming doom has been sealed, are still as active as ever. They are desperately striving to blind men's minds to the "gospel of the glory of Christ" so that men will not believe (2 Cor. 5:4). Paul himself had been blinded by them. He had hated the name of Jesus and "persecuted the church violently and tried to destroy it" (Gal. 1:13). Most of Israel was rejecting the gospel, because, pursuing "the righteousness which is based on the law" (Rom. 9:31), they refused to see that "Christ is the end of the law, that every one who has faith may be justified" (Rom. 10:4).

No latter-day universalist can outdo the Apostle Paul in reluctance to resign a single individual to eternal death; and we know that he hoped for the day when all blasphemy will be turned to praise (Phil. 2:9 ff.).

¹Cf. J. Denney, The Death of Christ, p. 145.

But he was very sure that as long as their unbelief lasts men are shut out from salvation in Christ. He knew that salvation is brought to men and made effective in them by the Spirit, and that men "receive the Spirit...by hearing with faith" (Gal. 3:2). The Son of God became man and remains man for man's salvation, but until men are willing to belong to Christ and to call him Lord his union with humanity remains ineffective for them. A saving unity with the body of the crucified and risen Christ is actualized in faith. A man is in Christ and Christ in him when he lives "by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20).

Spiritual death is overcome when the guilt of our sins no longer stands between us and God, and this "peace with God" is ours when "we are justified by faith" (Rom. 5:1). There is "now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" — who have given a believing response to the gospel; they have the "Spirit of life" and are "free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. 8:1 f.). As for the conquest of our mortality: it may appear that Paul is assuring all men of this victory when he says, "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22). But the words which immediately follow make clear that this can be a promise only for those who by faith belong to Christ (οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ).

The means by which the grace of Christ is brought to men for their reception are, according to Paul, the proclaimed word of truth and the sacraments. First of all, it is brought by "God's word" (2 Cor. 4:2). This divine word is the gospel, which is the very "power of God for salvation to every one who has faith" (Rom. 1:16).¹ Paul really believed

¹Cf. C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 99, "Paul

that the proclaimed word of truth about Jesus Christ has a numinous power in it which saves the person who receives it aright. That is why he so earnestly urged the Corinthian Christians, while they were seeking the *πνευματικά*, to seek especially for the gift of prophecy (1 Cor. 14).

When men speak the divine truth by inspiration of the divine Spirit, the church is built up and the unbeliever is so convicted of the truth about God and himself that, "falling on his face, he will worship God" (1 Cor. 14:3 f. and 24 f.). Paul was so sure that the word he preached had in it the awesome power to give to men spiritual life or to confirm death's power over them, according to their response, that he said, "Who is sufficient for these things?" (2 Cor. 2:15 f.). In the hands of the believer, God's word is "the sword of the Spirit" for "contending...against the world rulers of this present darkness" (Eph. 6:12, 17). No wonder that he was ready to pronounce a curse against man or angel who perverted the word of his gospel (Gal. 1:8 f.).

Then also there are the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, ordained by God as means by which the grace of Christ is brought to men. With his realistic, organic conception of the believer's union with Christ, it is not surprising that Paul made much of the sacraments. There has come to be a general recognition among biblical scholars of all ecclesiastical loyalties that a purely symbolic conception of the sacraments is distant from Paul's thinking. Not only has the proclaimed word of the gospel the power of God unto salvation; the gospel sacraments also have that

evidently looked to the proclamation of the 'word of the Lord,' the message about Christ, the Gospel, as able in itself and by itself to evoke faith. Thus the Gospel was itself 'a Divine Force unto salvation' (Ro. 1:16)."

power.¹ Baptism truly incorporates the believer with Christ — into his dying and rising again — with all the effects of life renewal which union with the living Christ must have (Rom. 6:3 ff.; Col. 2:12). The Lord's Supper gives to the partaker a real κοινωνία in the death of Christ. To have part in the "one loaf" makes him "one body" with all others who are incorporate in Christ (1 Cor. 10:16 f.). In this sacrament the believer has supernatural (πνευματικός) food and drink, which really assure his participation in Christ (1 Cor. 10:1-4).

But it must be emphasized that it is with the sacraments as with the gospel proclamation: all depends on the kind of reception which they are given. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper has such real power that when the partaker "eats and drinks without discerning the body he eats and drinks judgment upon himself." He who partakes of the sacrament while showing contempt for the body of Christ as it is present in the persons of fellow believers² who receive with him the sacramental elements, may well be eating and drinking bodily sickness and death to himself (1 Cor.

¹C. A. A. Scott, who wrote his Christianity According to St. Paul in considerable part to refute "an influential school of thought both at home and abroad which claims him as the author of 'sacramentarian' Christianity and the only begetter of Catholicism" (see his preface), went too far in his opposition. For example, he notes on p. 99 that in Gal. 3:2 Paul reminds the Galatian believers that they received the Spirit "by hearing with faith" rather than by "works of the law", and he says of Gal. 3:5 (where the effectiveness of "works of the law" is again contrasted with "hearing by faith") that Paul "seems expressly to exclude as the ground sic of the same experience any external rite or ceremony whatever. All of this appears to preclude any suggestion that it was through the rite of Baptism that men entered upon the experience of Salvation in any of its forms."

²Cf. *ibid.*, p. 189 f., "It is if he fails to discern the Body, if he eats without a proper sense of the Body that he incurs judgment. And by the Body is meant Christ's living Body, the Church. It is that failure to discern the Body which leads to his despising the Church (v. 22), and his want of respect for the Church is what is shown in his selfish and unbrotherly conduct."

11:20 ff.).¹ Therefore as with hearing the supernatural word of the gospel proclamation, our reception of the sacraments can be "from life to life" or "from death to death".

Furthermore, that the grace of Christ comes in sacramental form as well as in the proclaimed word serves to define certain truths about saving faith which Paul regarded as important. First, the fact that redemption is through faith does not mean that faith is a new kind of works-salvation (Eph. 2:8). The sacraments are a vivid reminder that redemption is something which is given to us, which we in no sense achieve but only receive. Second, the fact that salvation comes to a person through his response to God's offer of grace in the gospel does not mean that it is a transaction involving only himself and God. The sacraments make clear that one receives saving grace only as he is one among other members in the body of the living Christ and that, therefore, true faith is "faith working through love" (Gal. 5:6). Third, the sacraments underline the fact that saving faith is informed faith, a response to truth, which involves knowledge of and response to salvation events as definite as a man dying on a Roman cross. Finally, baptism says that saving faith has a once-for-all quality, a decisive turning away from the world to God; while the Lord's Supper says that saving faith is also a continuous returning to the Lord, especially to receive all the grace flowing from the proclamation of the "word of the cross", in order that the life of faith may be faithful even until the return of the Lord (1 Cor. 11:26).

¹ Similarly, to "drink the cup of the Lord" and then to participate in the sacrificial meals of the pagans is to invite God's judgment (1 Cor. 10:21 f.).

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We are now ready to examine those Pauline passages which enunciate the conviction that redemption in Christ flows from a dying of the believer which is spiritual and ethical in character.

Whenever Paul writes that "I died" or "I have been crucified" or "you have died" or "all have died" in a redemptive sense, he is thinking of what happened when Jesus of Nazareth died outside Jerusalem. He is referring to that historical event in each instance when he writes, "I through the law died to the law" (Gal. 2:19); "the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world" (Gal. 6:14); "our old self was crucified" (Rom. 6:6); "you were circumcised...by putting off the body of flesh" (Col. 2:11); "you died to the $\sigma\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ of the world" (Col. 2:20). It is because these things happened in the death of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who took our sinful flesh to deal with sin, that it also has happened to those who are united with him. Dying can be redemptive only when it partakes of the one redemptive death of Jesus. Although the redemptive death of Jesus becomes redemptively effective in the life of a believer at a time different from that of Jesus' crucifixion -- at the time when the believer is "buried...by baptism into death" (Rom. 6:4), no man can experience salvation through death except in virtue of the fact that all humanity died representatively in the one death of Jesus. "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him...." (Rom. 6:3 f.).

It can only be indicative of the high significance which these convictions had for Paul that his language becomes most mystical¹ and his expres-

¹Schweitzer was correct when, in analyzing Paul's mysticism, he gave

sions of devotion to Christ most intense when he voices them. For example:

I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me (Gal. 2:20).

For the love of Christ controls us, because we are convinced that one has died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised (2 Cor. 5:14 f.).

It is of the greatest importance to an understanding of Paul's religion to note, furthermore, that whenever Paul makes a declaration of the truth that believers have died with Christ his declaration involves an appeal for an adequate response to this great redemptive fact.¹ In other words, Paul did not indulge in mystical expressions of devotion for pietistic reasons. He did not speak of dying with Christ out of love for the Saviour in order to give a religious thrill to himself or to his readers. Such expressions, instead, always constitute a challenge to the believer to make a costly response, and the Apostle's challenge is always, in effect, to "Become what you are! Since you died with Christ, be sure that you really are dead!" That is, the only adequate response to a recognition of the truth that I died with Christ is for me to make a response which can justifiably be called "dying"² — which means death to the ego (ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, Gal. 2:20), death to the παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος (Rom. 6:6).

special attention to his teaching about dying and rising with Christ.

¹ See Rom. 6:2-11; 7:4-6; 2 Cor. 5:14 f.; Gal. 2:19 f.; 5:24; 6:14; Col. 2:11 f.; 2:20; 3:1-11.

² "When Christ calls a man," says Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 'he bids him come and die.' There are different kinds of dying, it is true; but the essence of discipleship is contained in those words." (G. K. A. Bell, in a foreword to Bonhoeffer's, The Cost of Discipleship).

Surrender to Christ in baptism is the real death of the human ego, which is launched upon a new life in the obedience of faith, no longer pleasing itself and managing by itself, but belonging to Christ and under his direction. Dying and rising again with Christ, this ego is dead to enmity with God, and has received reconciliation with God by faith; it is a new creature.¹

As the above statement by W. Grundmann points out, Paul's thinking about reconciliation with God by faith, baptism into the death of Christ, and all that these involve in the way of a new manner of living is all of one piece. It is not true to the mind of Paul to separate justification from sanctification.² He did not conceive of the man in Christ as one who is saved through faith, who then proceeds on some other basis to produce a life consistent with his new status as a child of God. The faith which justifies is also that which sanctifies. Justification is itself sanctification; it is the cleansing of a sinner so that he may have fellowship with God; it is the setting apart for the service of the holy God of one who had belonged to the world. The common Pauline term for the Chris-

¹From G. Quell, et al., Sin (BKWK), p. 76.

²Cf. C. A. A. Scott, op. cit., p. 113 f. Having pointed out that, according to Paul, "those who 'believed on' Him, through the same faith-union whereby they participated in His death, participated also in His new life" Scott says: "There have been many theologians and interpreters of St. Paul who have recognised the importance of this factor in his thought; but the tendency has been in almost all cases to find in it the explanation of what follows after a man has been 'saved,' an explanation of the process of sanctification. This truer conception of a union with Christ established through the initial act of faith accounts for, and is necessary to account for, Paul's interpretation of salvation in all its stages, in its initial one as well as in those that follow. It avoids the necessity of giving two distinct meanings to 'faith,' even 'the faith that saves'; and removes the very dangerous hiatus, a hiatus of which no one would be more acutely conscious than St. Paul, which would otherwise exist between faith in the sense of intellectual assent and that faith which being made operative by love establishes an ethical union of will and purpose between the Saviour and the saved."

tian believer is "saint". All believers are saints, but, at the same time, they are "called to be saints" (Rom. 1:17). Again, although there is no real 'dying' of the ego except that which is caused by Christ-like love, Paul did not separate love from faith as the cause of an effectual dying with Christ — as if faith is that through which justification is obtained and love that through which sanctification is attained. Saving faith is faith which exists only in love. When Paul writes that "I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me," he means, of course, that his faith is a response to the love of Christ, who died for him. Such a faith-response cannot be — must not be — merely intellectual assent; it is born of a responding love. It is "faith working ἐνεργουμένη"¹ through love" (Gal. 5:6) — faith which becomes effective because it is the answer of love to love.²

Clearly, if we are to do justice to all of what Paul has to say about the kind of response we should give to Christ's dying on our behalf, we must understand him to say that there is only one kind of saving response. Through this response the new life in Christ both begins and grows. Since Paul ordinarily refers to that response as πίστις or πιστεύειν, we must

¹Cf. G. G. Findlay, Galatians, (Ex B), pp. 312 f., "Paul's theology and his verbal usage alike require the middle sense of this verb, adopted by modern commentators with one consent. The middle voice implies that through love faith gets into action, is operative, efficacious, shows what it can do."

²Cf. G. S. Duncan, Galatians (MNFC), pp. 157 f., "It seems right that we should read the present verse in the clear light of Gal. 2:20, where, lost as here in wonder at the splendour of the Christian gospel, Paul declares that what brought him to rest exclusively on faith was the revelation of a Saviour who loved him....The one thing that can make a man right with God is a faith that is quickened into life by a sense of God's love."

grant that his conception of faith included not only that which enables a person to confess that "Jesus is Lord" but also that which causes the lordship of Christ to be a living reality in all his thoughts and outward conduct. Faith makes possible a living, saving union with Christ and therefore appropriates salvation as both Gabe and Aufgabe.

The words of Rom. 8:12 show that Paul regarded the "newness of life" which the believer must seek to appropriate as the result of his dying with Christ (Rom. 6:4) as inherent to salvation and not as something in addition to it. These words were addressed to persons who had "died to sin" (Rom. 6:2) when they were baptized into the death of Jesus Christ.

So then, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh — for if you live according to the flesh you will die, but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body you will live.

They must be diligent. Sin in the flesh will certainly overcome them and spiritually destroy them unless they consciously, purposefully, persistently allow the Spirit to destroy ("put to death") the false purposes which perpetually arise within them because of their involvement in an evil aeon. Their "old self" was indeed crucified with Christ, but it needs re-crucifixion daily, hourly!¹ The subjunctive mood must not be missed when it occurs in the following words:

We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed (καταργηθῇ), and we might no longer be enslaved to sin (Rom. 6:6).

¹Cf. J. Denney, The Death of Christ, p. 187, "Faith, involving such a relation to sin as can be called a death to it, covers the whole life, and is a moral guarantee for it; yet the death to sin which is lodged in it has to be carried out in a daily mortification of evil, the initial crucifixion with Christ in a daily crucifixion of the passions and lusts." See also, *ibid.*, pp. 331 ff.

When Christ died on the cross his own sinful body (body of sinful flesh) was destroyed (annulled, made of no effect) by being transformed into a body of glory, and the sinful powers could therefore no longer get at him. "He died to sin" and "the life he lives he lives to God" (Rom. 6:10).

Since the death of Christ was a truly representative death, his liberation from sin's power is also liberation for all united to him. The believer must not imagine, however, that he may supinely wait for this liberation to become effective at the time when he receives a spiritual body like that of Christ. That event will give full liberation, but freedom from sin's power must begin to be effective now if there is to be any full freedom later. Freedom's hour has struck! The time to throw off the slavery of sin is now! "So you must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:11).

"All of God's beloved" are "called to be saints" (Rom. 1:7), and the quality of sainthood depends on the quality of the believer's response to God's call to him to be a saint by dying to sin. And let him never think that he has any reason for self-congratulation. Let him not imagine that he has ascended to the ranks of a religious élite and that he is achieving works of supererogation. Salvation itself is always in the balance¹ and holiness is that desperately necessary requisite without which

¹"Then I saw that there was a way to hell, even from the gates of heaven" (from Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress). This is not a denial of the mystery of predestination to glory (Rom. 8:29 f.; 9:23) any more than it is a denial that Jesus Christ was foreordained to be the Saviour of the elect (Eph. 1:4 f.) to say that his struggle with sin was an authentic struggle.

there is no salvation (cf. Heb. 12:14). It is "the righteousness from God that depends on faith", and I must "press on to make it my own, because Christ Jesus has made me his own." "Straining forward to what lies ahead," I must "press on toward the goal for the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 3:9 ff., cf. Gal. 5:5). I must never grow complacent, I must pursue the prize with all my might, lest I fail completely.

Do you not know that in a race all the runners compete, but only one receives the prize? So run that you may obtain it. Every athlete exercises self-control in all things. They do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable. Well, I do not run aimlessly, I do not box as one beating the air; but I pommel my body and subdue it, lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified. (1 Cor. 9:24-27)¹

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"I pommel my body." It must be noted how often, in the passages with which we are particularly concerned in this chapter, it is the problem of the body of sinful flesh which is of central concern. This finds expression most clearly in the following:

We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin (Rom. 6:6).

So then, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh — for if you live according to the flesh you will die, but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body you will live (Rom. 8:12 f.).

¹This is not the only passage in which Paul warns that a person who is in Christ may yet lose that status and be lost. In 1 Cor. 10:1 ff. he warns that no matter how dramatically God has rescued his people from destruction in the past and in spite of the fact that they have received supernatural means of grace, they may still be destroyed. In Gal. 5:1 ff. he warns those whom Christ has set free that if they do not stand fast, if they seek to be "justified by the law", then they "are severed from Christ...fallen away from grace."

In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of flesh in the circumcision of Christ (Col. 2:11).

The context of the passage from Colossians makes clear that the "circumcision of Christ" refers to what happened in the death-resurrection of Christ, the saving power of which is reflected in a new holiness in the life of every person who has been "buried with him in baptism". He who has thus been buried with Christ has also been "raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead." This means newness of life, because "you who were dead in trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive together with him." Ritual circumcision, made with human hands, is incapable of meeting the problem of sin. A circumcision which is far more radical is needed — "a circumcision made without hands": the "putting off (*ἀπεκδυσας*) of the body of flesh".¹ Only when the fleshliness of the body is overcome by being transcended is that slavery to sin overcome which is described in Rom. 7. Christ put off the fleshliness of his body for a spiritual body in his death-resurrection, making him dead to sin and alive to God (Rom. 6:10). In virtue of the fact that those who are united with Christ have also

¹ Cf. C. A. A. Scott, op. cit., p. 36, "It is clear that 'the circumcision not made with hands' is explained as 'the stripping off of the flesh,' and that this is further described as 'the circumcision of Christ,' i.e. the circumcision which Christ had undergone. But again the current explanations are far from adequate. The circumcision of Christ to which Paul here refers is that which He underwent when in the act of death He stripped off from Himself the flesh-body in which He was clothed. Circumcision made with hands was a laying aside of the flesh which could only be partial and symbolic. In the case of Christ there took place a laying aside of the flesh which was real and complete and in those who 'died with' Him one which was ideally complete. Men were 'circumcised with the circumcision of Christ' in the same sense as they were 'crucified with' Him."

See also J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, pp. 43 ff.

died with him and been raised with him (Col. 3:1-3), Paul makes an appeal to the Colossian believers, in the ethical section of his letter to them, to see to it that their response is such that the body of flesh with all its sinful workings is actually "put to death".

Put to death therefore what is earthly (τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) in you: immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness which is idolatry. On account of these the wrath of God is coming upon the sons of disobedience, among whom you also once walked, when you lived in these things. But now put away also all these: anger, wrath, malice, slander, and foul talk from your mouth. Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old nature (ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον) with its practices and have put on the new nature, which is being renewed in knowledge after the image of its creator (Col. 3:5-10).

In order to do justice to a passage such as this, the interpreter must recognize that Paul's ethical exhortations are in no way separable from his theology of redemption. According to Paul, the ethical achievements required of saints cannot be reached without the redemptive reality; and without the ethical achievement there is no redemption. Furthermore, the interpreter must recognize that Paul's thinking about both is strongly eschatological and cosmical.

When, here in Colossians, it is said that the "old man" has been "put off" and that the Colossian believers should "put to death" their earthly "members", the meaning is exactly the same as in Rom. 6:6, where it is said that our "old man was crucified" in order that "the sinful body might be destroyed." The "old man" is the nature which we have by virtue of the fact that we have fleshly bodies and therefore belong to the old, sinful aeon.¹ It is the nature which we have by inheritance from Adam,

¹Cf. Nygren, Romans, p. 234, "'The old man' is the man who belongs

who admitted sin's destructive power into the cosmos. If, however, we belong to the last Adam, who is alive in the coming age of glory, we have, in him, disrobed (ἀπεκδύεσθαι) ourselves of our old, sinful, fleshly nature and put on the new, holy, spiritual nature which belongs to a σῶμα πνευματικόν. But this indicative involves an imperative.¹ Since the believer is nonetheless also, as still a being of flesh, a part of the present evil aeon, his life is in tension because of his participation in two aeons. He must therefore recognize a crucial summons to give the kind of faith-response which will make his life in Christ his true life, which gains daily and hourly victories over his residual life in Adam. He must daily and hourly die to the old aeon that he may live in the new. Finding himself ever again in the old, judging and desiring κατὰ σάρκα, he must ever again remind himself that "those who belong to Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires" (Gal. 5:24) and that in the cross of Christ "the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world" (Gal. 6:14). Then, by the grace of the life-giving Spirit of Christ, he must again die to the old that he may live in the new, remembering that "one has died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, that

to 'the old aeon' and is characterized by its nature." Cf. also Leenhardt, Romans, pp. 161 f., "This old man, this decadent being is ourselves considered in our status as sons of Adam...the word [παλαιός] qualifies what belongs to the economy of Adam, the old aeon, which the cross brings to an end for the believer, who has undergone baptism. The expression 'sinful body' clarifies the thought, by pointing to the old man in respect of his external corporal condition."

¹In Ephesians one finds the teaching that those who are in Christ have been raised with him (2:6) but no reference to their dying with Christ. The ethical imperative, however, which in Colossians is based on the believer's dying with Christ is also found in Ephesians in very similar language (4:22-24).

those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised" (2 Cor. 5:14 f.). This is the manner in which the believer is to "put on the new nature, which is being renewed¹ in knowledge after the image of its creator"² (Col. 3:10).

Steadily contemplating the glory of the crucified and risen Lord to whom he belongs, he is thus "being changed into his likeness from one degree of glory to another" (2 Cor. 3:18). More and more he belongs with Christ to the new aeon as he dies again and again to the old.

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Alongside of the concern for the problem of the sinful body, there is to be found in the passages to which we are giving special attention in this chapter a concern for freedom from the Law. This is understandable, since Paul believed that the Law is the means by which sin in the flesh is made to flare up, resulting in transgressions.³ If, then, dying with Christ sets the believer free from the Law's dominion, we are given further reason to understand why the man in Christ is able to defy the power of sin in the flesh and to yield his "members to God as instruments of righteousness."

¹Cf. A. S. Peake, in Expositors Greek Testament, III, London, 1903, p. 539, "The present expressing the continuous process of renewal (cf. 2 Cor. 4:16). There is no reference to a restoration to a former state."

²Although "the image of its creator" is certainly an allusion to Gen. 1:27, there is no need to insist that it therefore refers to the image of God rather than the image of Christ. After all, Christ is himself "the image of the invisible God" and all things were created in, through, and for him (Col. 1:15 f.). Certainly it is to the image of the last Adam in glory to which the believer is being "renewed" (cf. 2 Cor. 3:18).

³See chapter 7.

Likewise, my brethren, you have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead in order that we may bear fruit for God. While we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death. But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we serve not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit (Rom. 7:4-6).

For I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God (Gal. 2:19).

If with Christ you died to the *στοιχεῖα* of the universe, why do you live as if you still belong to the world? Why do you submit to regulations...? (Gal. 2:20).

These verses teach that the Law belongs to the present world order and not to the new order of salvation in Christ. The Law was given because the present age is an age dominated by sinful powers. It does not, however, have the power to overcome sin's power and give life to the spiritually dead (Gal. 3:21); although it is useful to prepare men for receiving redemption through faith in Jesus Christ. It was "added because of transgressions" (Gal. 3:19), to serve as a "custodian until Christ came" (Gal. 3:24). Since the Law is "weakened by the flesh" (Rom. 8:3), it not only is incapable of bringing men to obedience to God but actually stimulates sinful rebellion. In doing this it makes sin vividly apparent, but it leaves men helplessly enslaved to sin. It pitilessly sentences men to death for their transgressions while actually serving to increase transgression (Rom. 5:20). The result is that men lie helpless under a double tyranny: the tyranny of sin, which made the Law necessary, and the tyranny of the Law which strengthens sin's dominion. It is clear that the Law cannot save; a new and better way is needed to bring men freedom from sin and death — a way which will, at the same time, bring freedom

from the Law by providing a new and better way to righteousness.

This way is Christ. Christ is "the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4), because union with Christ in his death and resurrection delivers from the double tyranny of sin and the Law. Christ delivers from the Law because in him the guilt of sin is taken away, lifting the Law's sentence of death, and also because Christ brings the believer into a new relation of sonship to God, which transcends the Law.

But now that faith has come, we are no longer under a custodian; for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith (Gal. 3:25 f.).

This new relationship with God transcends the Law because it enables the man in Christ to live the righteous life required by the Law but which the Law has never enabled its adherents to achieve (Rom. 8:3 f.). This is because in Christ men become the adopted sons of God, not only in a legal sense, but in the most vital, existential sense — which the gift of the Holy Spirit effectuates.

Jeremiah had longed for the day when God would put his law "within them" and "write it upon their hearts", when God's people would all "know the Lord" by direct perception, and when they would know their sins to be utterly forgiven and forgotten (Jer. 31:31 ff.). This dream, says Paul, is now fulfilled in Christ. Christ makes possible an utterly new way of life, and the man who truly finds it becomes a "letter from Christ" to be "known and read by all men", a letter "written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts" (2 Cor. 3:2 ff.). Christ is the end of the Law because, through the Spirit, he is in the believer (Gal. 2:20), producing "the fruit of

the Spirit" which is "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control" (Gal. 5:22). Christ, who is in his own person the "new creation" is, with all the creative powers of the divine Spirit, reproducing himself in all who are united to him, "from one degree of glory to another" (2 Cor. 3:18).

But nothing of all this happens automatically, apart from the response of the believer. Freedom from the Law through a better way to righteousness is fully provided by grace — it is in no way the work of the believer, but it can be appropriated only by him who gives the response of faith. The better way exists objectively through the work of Christ, but it must also come to exist subjectively if freedom from the Law is to be an experienced reality. When Christ died on the cross he died to the Law, and so did all men, representatively, at that time. But this death to the Law becomes experienced, redemptive freedom from the Law only when he who is under the Law is willing to meet the inner, personal cost of death to the Law — a cost which means the death of the ego. The subtlest and most disastrous of all sins of the flesh which the Law helps to beget is that of self-righteousness. It is the sin of a man glorying before God that he has fulfilled the Law and so is "not like other men" (Lk. 18:8 ff.). It is the primal, Adamic sin — the sin of a man standing over against God and seeking fulfilment on his own and for himself. The fact that it is not a conscious disobedience of God's law makes it in no way less the sin of Adam; the fact that it is unconscious only shows more clearly the deceitfulness of sin in using the Law to turn men from God. It is the sin of seeking to establish a righteousness of

one's own and thereby refusing to "submit to God's righteousness" (Rom. 10:3).

If one is really to die to the Law in a way which causes him to "live to God" he must be willing to die with Christ in such a fashion that it is no longer his ego which is alive in him but only Christ (Gal. 2:19 f.). He must so die to self that he can honestly say, "For to me to live is Christ" (Phil. 1:21). He must be willing to give up every pretence to "a righteousness of my own, based on law" and glory only in "the righteousness from God that depends on faith" (Phil. 3:9). This "righteousness from God" which faith appropriates is, of course, the righteousness of Christ — and it is a righteousness which is both imputed and lived.¹

The reason why faith succeeds where a man's own attempts to keep the Law fail is because faith is the opposite of self-assertion. Faith is a radical turning away from self and the world to God, a turning which is begotten of love for God and which therefore makes possible a union with the divine — in which sinful man is saved from the lostness of his spiritual isolation. It was his faith which enabled Paul to count everything as "loss for the sake of Christ" (Phil. 3:7), but it was a faith which issued from and produced a love for Christ which excluded self-love. Faith is a willingness to give up all religious securities which really belong to the world, including the assurance which arises from the keeping of religious regulations (Gal. 2:20).

When one dies to the Law in this vital sense, then the Law will no

¹Cf. S. F. D. Salmond, Ex G T, III, p. 455, "Thus δικαιοσύνη may express something more than the relation to God into which believers are brought by God's justifying judgment (which for their experience means the sense of forgiveness with the Forgiver in it). It embraces the conduct which is the response to that forgiving love of God, a love only bestowed on the soul united to Christ by faith."

longer be able to arouse those "sinful passions" which "were at work in our members to bear fruit for death." Instead, serving now "not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit," the man of faith is able to "bear fruit for God" (Rom. 7:4 ff.). Sin has lost its "dominion" over him, because he is no longer "under law but under grace" (Rom. 6:14). Thus having been brought to life from the death of sin by the Spirit he "walks" by the Spirit (Gal. 5:25) that "still more excellent way" which Paul describes in 1 Cor. 13.¹

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It may fairly be said, in conclusion, that through his teaching about dying and rising with Christ Paul has provided theological grounds for a very demanding ethic. In doing this he has done something which should be especially noted: although mysticism is often regarded as naturally antithetical to intense ethical concern, it is a truly mystical conception by means of which Paul shows that believers in Christ must seriously undertake to live the radically high ethic which Jesus Christ — and especially his death — represents.² Paul insists that since the man in Christ is

¹ Although Paul distinguishes between faith and love in 1 Cor. 13, this is certainly not to be taken to mean that he conceived of saving faith as ever existing apart from love. In v. 2 he is referring to a kind of miracle-working faith which can be selfishly prized, but this is not the faith which justifies sinners. It is not the faith of Gal. 2:20. In the final verse, when he speaks of the trinity of evangelic graces, he is thinking of that saving faith which is never found apart from love and which is always to be found in love. If one asks why faith and hope will be needed when the redeemed are given to "see...face to face," the answer is that faith, hope, and love are a trinity, one and inseparable, when they belong to the redemption experience.

² Deissmann would say that the reason for this is that Paul's mysticism is of the "re-acting" rather than of the "acting" type (see Paul, pp. 149 ff.). The "acting" mystic is he who seeks by his own efforts to achieve deification.

really dead to the old, self-centered, fleshly manner of life and is alive in the new aeon because the Lord of the new aeon is really living in him (Rom. 8:10), he must expect nothing less of himself than to be perfect as Christ is perfect. The believer must ever be saying to himself: "Christ has seized tight hold of me in order to bring me to perfection, which I have by no means yet reached. But I will reach it by his grace, always straining forward towards the mark of perfection to which God has called me in Christ Jesus (cf. Phil. 3:12 ff.). I will thus work out my salvation with all seriousness, knowing that God himself is at work in me to give me both the desire and the ability to do whatever pleases him (cf. Phil. 2:12 f.). There is no excuse for me, therefore, if I am not pure and blameless in love

He concentrates on that in himself which he believes to be divine, and in seeking to realize his identity with the divine he tends to move beyond distinctions between good and evil, beyond ethical striving. The "re-acting" mystic is he who responds to the divine initiative and yearns, through God's grace, for fellowship with God through becoming conformed to God's will. This kind of mysticism is, to use Deismann's words, "Theo-centric mysticism" as opposed to "ego-centric mysticism" -- it is "mysticism of ethical enthusiasm" as opposed to "mysticism of aesthetic intoxication" (p. 151).

Cf. also A. Wikenhauser, Pauline Mysticism, Edinburgh, 1960, pp. 146 ff. and 236 ff. W. says that "it is unnecessary to explain that morality plays a great part in Paul's theology, and that he could not have conceived of Christian life without morality. But are morality and mysticism simply juxtaposed in Paul's theology, or is there an organic bond between them?...The answer to this question is clear and unchallenged: Paul connects morality with mysticism. Our fellowship with Christ is not simply something natural, like the mystical union of the Greeks. It is a sacramental and moral relationship, and therefore is the source of moral obligations" (pp. 236 f.).

Cf. also A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, 2nd ed., p. 125, "The fact that the believer's whole being, down to his most ordinary everyday thoughts and actions, is thus brought within the sphere of the mystical experience has its effect of giving to this mysticism a breadth, a permanence, a practicability, and a strength almost unexampled elsewhere in mysticism. Certainly in this it is entirely different in character from the Hellenistic mysticism, which allowed daily life to go its own way apart from the mystical experience and without relation to it."

when Christ appears, filled with all the fruits of righteousness which are freely available in Christ and which give glory to God" (cf. Phil. 1:9 ff.).

It should also be noted that Paul's insistence on perfect love for all men in all circumstances as the supreme standard of conduct does not fall short of the ethic which Jesus taught and lived. Furthermore, although Paul's ethical instructions sometimes echo the words of Jesus, it seems clear that Paul's teaching is not merely a repetition or paraphrase of the teaching of Jesus -- and even less is it merely the ethical teaching which he learned at the feet of Gamaliel slightly altered. Though certainly Paul's ethical teachings embody what he learned from others in the ordinary way, there is good reason to assert that the essential quality of Paul's ethical teaching is something which he learned by direct fellowship with Christ. In Rom. 12:2 he teaches that every one who submits his mind to the transformation which the Spirit of Christ works is himself able to judge what the will of God is and to distinguish it from the pattern of life approved by this transitory world -- because he has "the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. 2:16). The assurance with which Paul pronounces this doctrine of ethical freedom suggests abundant personal experience. In other words, Paul's ethical teaching is not only theologically founded on mystical doctrine, but the teaching itself was given its Pauline shape in mystical experience -- the fact that it is so very demanding and that it was delivered to his disciples with such impressive assurance is to be explained by Paul's having received it directly from the One who taught and lived the principle: "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." Jesus lived in a harsh world in which hatred and cruelty

were rampant, but he knew with all the assurance of direct perception, as a Son with his Father, that God is a Father who loves all men always; and he therefore urged upon men that if they would be sons of God they must love all men always (Mt. 5:38 ff.). Paul, in turn, told his disciples, with all the assurance of direct perception, as one to whom Christ had revealed it, that if they would be sons of God in Christ the Son, then they must be like Christ -- they must show forth the likeness of Christ in all their living. Jesus urged on his disciples that they must seek the likeness of God, and Paul taught that believers in Jesus Christ are to seek the likeness of Jesus Christ -- which, to Paul, is the same thing (Col. 1:15, 2:9).

Something else which we should note is the extent to which Paul's teaching that death is the means to perfection and the test of perfection can be compared to what we find in the life and teachings of Jesus. Though it has been widely questioned by present-day scholarship that Jesus saw the cross from the very beginning of his ministry, there can be little doubt that the gospel writers themselves believed that this is the meaning of what they recorded. They believed that Jesus accepted baptism as a baptism unto death. Even then he saw himself being called to the kind of Messiahship which would result in rejection and violent death. That is why the Father acknowledged him as "my beloved Son" and poured upon him the Spirit without measure.¹ If Jesus was to "fulfil all righteousness" (Mt. 3:15) he must not stand aside from his brothers; he must identify himself with

¹Jesus more than once described his coming death in terms of a baptism (Mk. 10:38; Lk. 12:50).

those whom he would save even to the point of confessing their sins and, finally, dying for their sins. Such was the faith and love of Jesus, and he asked that his followers should be willing to seal their discipleship with death. Their faith and love must not stop short of taking up a cross, and only he who is willing to lose his life for Christ's sake will really find life (Mt. 10:37 ff.; Lk. 14:26 f.).

Paul showed himself a worthy exponent of the way of Jesus when he called upon all, by both word and example, to die with their Lord in a death to self so that they may live a new life of love — Christ's life — and also to be willing and eager to seal their union with him, in his victory over sin and death, by sharing his sufferings and death in the most literal way.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Believer's Suffering and Death as Salvation

We have seen in chapter 8 that in Paul's view death includes everything which combats life and tends towards death. Hence severe hardship, violent persecution, illness, and anything else which causes a decline of bodily strength are a part of death's reality.

This is true not only when death is viewed simply as an evil, but it is also true of Paul's thinking when death becomes, in Christ's death, redemptive. When the man in Christ has those experiences which tend towards death, or result in death, and he experiences them for Christ's sake, by faith in Christ, then his union with the redemptive death of Christ causes all such experiences to be sources of abundant grace to the believer and through him to others.

It is perhaps Second Corinthians which, of all the Pauline letters, provides us most richly with expressions of such teaching. R. P. C. Hanson, in his little commentary on this letter, has effectively expressed Paul's thinking in what he has entitled a "Note on Interchange of Experience in Christ",¹ a major portion of which follows:

'For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ,' says St. Paul, and the whole passage, 1.1-7, elaborates the meaning of this strange claim. Indeed this passage is only the first of a series of similar ones making in effect very much the same claim: that is, that the man who is in Christ shares in his own person the same paradox, the same divinely ordained contradiction, as that which the life and destiny of Jesus Christ constituted, the paradox of comfort from suffering, of life from death, of

¹R. P. C. Hanson, Second Corinthians (TBC), London, 1954, pp. 32 f.

strength from weakness, of wisdom from foolishness. To Paul the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ was the paradox par excellence, the greatest turning of the tables, the vastest confounding of human expectation of all time. Out of the suffering, the death, the helplessness and what appeared to be the folly of Jesus had come from God comfort, life, strength and wisdom. This meant that because Christians do not merely imitate, follow or feel inspired by Christ, but actually live in him, are part of him, dwell supernaturally in a new world where the air they breathe is his Spirit, then for them henceforward suffering accepted in Christ must bring comfort, death accepted in Christ must bring life, weakness accepted in Christ must bring strength and foolishness accepted in Christ must bring wisdom. There is for the Christian an interchange between these opposites, a divine transforming of each into the other.

But this is true for Paul not only of the individual in his personal relation to Christ, but also of the relations of Christians to each other. If we look at three of the passages in II Corinthians where Paul refers to this Interchange, we can see this plainly. The first is 1.1-7, where it is plain that suffering in one Christian (Paul) becomes comfort in another, in this case a group of Christians (the Corinthians). Because the Corinthians share Christ with Paul, they also share Paul's sufferings in Christ, and, as a necessary consequence, Paul's comfort. The next passage is 4.8-12, where it is explicitly stated that death, working in Christ's apostle Paul, becomes life in the Corinthians. And there is a series of passages in the second half of this work which draw out the interchange of weakness and strength for those who are in Christ -- 11.30; 12.5, 8-10, and finally the passage which ends with the magnificent statement (13.2-9), 'I will not spare: Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to you-ward is not weak, but is mighty in you. For though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God. For we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him by the power of God toward you.' Weakness in Paul can become strength in the Corinthians; it can become strength in Paul too, for all Christians have in themselves both weakness and strength, both suffering and comfort, both life and death, both foolishness and wisdom, as sharing in the life of the One who embodied in himself and his life and death and resurrection all these paradoxes. And Christians share with each other this interchange of experience. The mystery of Christ's Interchange flows over from him to them and also from each of them to the others.

When Paul wrote Second Corinthians -- or at least the bulk of it¹ --

¹There are strong reasons for favouring the view that most of the

he had been experiencing various and bitter sufferings. He writes of one recent experience in Ephesus: "We were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself" (1:8). Equally bitter were the sufferings which an altercation with the Corinthian church had been causing him. Now, however, as he writes, he is experiencing the sensations of wonderful relief from these sufferings. He has recently left behind him the dangers and tensions of his missionary labours in Ephesus, and he has just received word from Titus that the conflict between him and the congregation in Corinth is at an end. Furthermore, it is probable that he wrote from Philippi where he would be surrounded by the loving hospitality of a Christian fellowship which was unusually loyal to him. The change in his circumstances was so great that it bore some resemblance to being raised from death to glory and he saw in it a real reflection of Christ's victory over evil through death and resurrection. The sufferings he had been enduring were for the sake of Christ, and the comfort which he was now experiencing was a gift from the living, victorious Christ.¹

For as we share abundantly in Christ's sufferings, so through Christ we share abundantly in comfort too (2 Cor. 1:5).

material found in chapters 10-13 came from a letter written after 1 Cor. but before 2 Cor. 1-9. There is no need to enter into the question here, but it might be noted that the fact that our present theme is to be found throughout 2 Cor. could be used as an argument for the literary unity of 2 Cor. as we now have it -- or, if on other grounds it is concluded that chapters 10-13 are from a radically different kind of letter, the use of our theme in both 1-9 and 10-13 shows how solidly a part of Paul's thinking it was.

¹Cf. James Denney, Second Corinthians (Ex B), p. 17, "Notice especially that the consolation is said to abound 'through Christ.' He is the mediator through whom it comes. To partake in His sufferings is to be united to Him; and to be united to Him is to partake in His life....In our eagerness to emphasise the nearness and the sympathy of Jesus, it is to be feared that we do less than justice to the New Testament revelation of His glory. He does not suffer now. He is enthroned on high, far above all principality

If we are to do full justice to the words $\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\alpha\theta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς we must not take "the sufferings of Christ" to mean merely "sufferings like the sufferings of Christ". The sufferings which had been overflowing ($\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$) into Paul are those which flowed from his union with Christ in his death. They are the very sufferings of Christ which he experienced on the cross and which are now continuing in the life of his apostle, who was "baptized into his death" (Rom. 6:3) and called to a life of suffering in and for Christ.¹

But if they are really the sufferings of Christ, then they are vicarious sufferings which bring redemptive results in the lives of others -- in the lives of all who are united with him in their union with Christ. An indication that Paul was thinking in these terms is that, when he refers to the comfort which was now "overflowing" into him even as the sufferings recently did, he immediately asserts that both his sufferings and his comfort were experienced for the sake of those to whom he was writing. And as he does so he does not fail to point out that they will share in the benefits of his (Paul's) sufferings only as they also share with him in the sufferings of Christ, since the sharing occurs only as he and they are united to each other by their mutual union in the body² of the One who died

and power and might and dominion. The Spirit which brings His presence to our hearts is the Spirit of the Prince of Life; its function is not to be weak with our weakness, but to help our infirmity, and to strengthen us with all might in the inner man."

¹"I will show him how much he must suffer for the sake of my name" (Acts 9:16).

²Cf. A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of St. Paul, p. 126. After quoting 2 Cor. 1:5-7, S. comments: "This passage, which might otherwise seem in its complicated involutions merely an elaborate complimentary opening to

and rose again.

If we are afflicted, it is for your comfort and salvation; and if we are comforted, it is for your comfort, which you experience when you patiently endure the same sufferings that we suffer. Our hope for you is unshaken; for we know that as you share in our sufferings, you will also share in our comfort (2 Cor. 1:6, f.).

It must be emphasized that the only sufferings to which Paul attributed redemptive power are the sufferings which Christ endured when he shared our sinful flesh. But the sufferings of those who are united with Christ can have saving effects both for the sufferer and for those who are united with him in Christ when they are a continuation of Christ's sufferings. It never occurred to Paul, of course, to regard his sufferings as in any way redemptive in themselves and apart from the death of Christ; but there was a continuing need for the kind of suffering which Christ could no longer undertake. The death which Christ died to reconcile all things in earth and heaven to God was "in his body of flesh" (Col. 1:21). That death provided an all-sufficient reconciliation; no other death is needed, nor could any other death suffice. But the message of reconciliation must be brought to all men, and they must be persuaded to be reconciled. The church, the body of Christ, must be built up to do Christ's work in the world. All of this entails much struggle against forces of evil in the flesh, and much suffering. All suffering endured to this end is the suffering of Christ, a continuation of the suffering which he suffered in the flesh on the cross.

the Epistle, becomes simple and arresting once it is given its true meaning as a reference to the communicability of experience which obtains within the 'Mystical Body of Christ.'" See also p. 127: "The Mystical Body of Christ is thus for Paul not a pictorial expression, nor a conception which has arisen out of symbolical and ethical reflections, but an actual entity. Only so can it be explained that not only can Christ suffer for the Elect, but also the Elect for Christ and for one another."

It is the suffering of Christ because it is the suffering of his body, the church, even though the Head is now living in the glory of the coming aeon. This is the meaning of Col. 1:24 f.:

Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what remains of Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church, of which I became a minister according to the divine office which was given to me for you, to make the word of God fully known....

There is no need to be offended by Paul's reference to the ὑστερήματα of Christ's sufferings, as if this means that the work of Christ accomplished in his death is somehow inadequate. Perhaps the point which Paul was most intent on making in his letter to the Colossians is that in the person and work of Jesus Christ the believer has everything needed for full salvation; no other mediator of any kind is of any use to him whatsoever.¹ Paul certainly would not surrender his case to the Colossian heretics by conceding that the sufferings of Christ on the cross fell short in the slightest of their purpose to reconcile to God "all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross" (Col. 1:20). The work wrought in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ is absolutely unique and perfect and complete (Col. 2:9-15). Those who are in Christ "have come to fullness of life in him" (ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι, 2:10).

However, the perfect work of Christ in which the believer has everything he needs for full salvation requires to be fully appropriated in the

¹Cf. E. F. Scott on Col. 1:24 (MNTC, p. 30), "In this epistle more especially, his whole argument rests on the belief that the work of Christ is all-sufficient and does not need to be supplemented by any other agencies. If he had declared that there was something lacking in what Christ had done he would have endorsed just the ideas which he has set himself to oppose."

believer's experience, fully actualized in the conduct of his life. The believer, in turn, has the obligation to persuade others for whom Christ died to receive salvation in Christ. None of this happens automatically; all of it requires a willingness to struggle and suffer. The evil powers which caused the death of Christ are still active, intent on preventing the implementation of Christ's victory over them. The sufferings which won that glorious victory must, therefore, continue — and only suffering which is empowered by the redemptive power of Christ's death will avail. Only ~~by~~ a continuation of the afflictions which Christ himself triumphantly endured when he was in the flesh can avail. Paul rejoiced that his body of flesh, which was one of the "members of Christ" (1 Cor. 6:15) was, in Christ's stead, continuing Christ's sufferings¹ and providing the needed ὑπερῆματα of afflictions. Christ in the flesh was a δακνὸς to Jew and Gentile, that they might know the grace of God (Rom. 15:8 f.); Paul has now, in Christ, been appointed δακνὸς (Col. 1:25) to the church, to do what remains to be done and suffered in the flesh.²

That Paul believed his apostolic afflictions to be integral with the sufferings of Christ on the cross is shown by his words in 2 Cor. 4:8-12:

¹Paul could claim to have received directly from the glorified Jesus the doctrine that sufferings which are endured for Christ's sake are, in fact, the sufferings of Christ. He learned that in persecuting believers he had been persecuting the glorified Jesus (Acts 9:5).

²Paul repeatedly voiced his conviction that a life of suffering is an indispensable credential of a true apostle of Christ (1 Cor. 4:9-13; 2 Cor. 6:4-10; 11:23-29; Gal. 6:17).

Cf. L. Cerfaux, Le Chrétien dans la Théologie Paulinienne, Paris, 1962, pp. 309 ff. Discussing Paul's teaching on "Communion a la Passion du Christ", Cerfaux stresses the influence on Paul of the apocalyptic expectation of Messianic tribulations. These began in the passion of Christ

We are afflicted in every way, but not crushed; perplexed, but not driven to despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; struck down, but not destroyed; always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. So death is at work in us, but life in you.

These verses say that Paul could see the death and resurrection of Christ at work in his own experience. Since his life consisted in "carrying in the body the death (τέκνωσις, putting to death) of Jesus" and in "being given up to death for Jesus' sake", his life also manifested the invincible power of Christ's resurrection life. In the midst of the severest afflictions Paul experienced a power beyond his own which would not allow him to be crushed; in the most discouraging perplexities there arose within him such joy that it could only be a divine gift; the severer the persecutions became the stronger became the assurance of Christ's living presence; and though violently mauled by the enemy until it seemed he must surely perish he would be given bodily strength to go on to the next city to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. Since there has been one death — and one death only — which has resulted in victory over death, Paul's experience gave evidence that his life was being lived in union with the death-conquering death of Jesus.

And since the death of Jesus was a representative death, a substitutionary death, a death which conquered sin and death not only for himself

and are to be completed in the life of the church. Christ suffered to fulfil the prophecy concerning the Servant of God, and Paul as Apostle is the "suppléant dans ce rôle de Serviteur" (p. 313). For example, when Paul says of himself, "I did not run in vain or labour in vain" (Phil. 2:16), he is applying to himself language from Is. 49:4 and 65:23 (LXX).

but for others, Paul could be sure that even as the sufferings of Christ which he suffered brought him manifestations of Christ's victorious life they must also be bringing that same redemptive life to those for whom he suffered his apostolic afflictions. That is why he could confidently assert: "So death is at work in us, but life in you." He could be sure in Christ that his sufferings in behalf of Christ's body were serving to actualize in the lives of those who made up that body the redemption which Christ won for them on the cross. It was this faith which allowed him to speak as he did, because it gave him the assurance that God would raise them and him to glory with Jesus (4:13 ff.).

One of the striking features of the final four chapters of Second Corinthians, in which the tone is so different from that of the first nine, is Paul's agonized "boasting"; and perhaps the most remarkable thing about this boasting is that he boasts of his weakness. And he boasts of his weakness even while boldly asserting his apostolic authority and threatening to demonstrate, when next he comes to Corinth, that "the weapons of our warfare...have divine power to destroy strongholds" (10:4).

If I must boast, I will boast of the things that show my weakness (11:30).

The passage which immediately precedes this statement is an eloquent catalogue of his apostolic sufferings which had brought him ἐν θανάτοις πολλὰς (11:23) and of endless burdens because of his anxiety for all the churches. The passage ends with:

Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to fall, and I am not indignant? (11:29)

Then, in the final chapter, while again warning that, if necessary, he

will use his apostolic power vigorously against those who have been "sinning" and will thus give evidence that "Christ is speaking in me," he writes:

For he was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God. For we are weak in him, but in dealing with you we shall live with him by the power of God (13:4).

It thus becomes clear why Paul boasted of his weakness even while trying to win acceptance for his apostolic authority. His reasoning was based on the conviction that he who was crucified in weakness but is now "Son of God in power" (Rom. 1:4) was in him — "Do you not realize," he asks, "that Jesus Christ is in you?" (13:5) — sharing his divine power with Paul to enable him to fulfil the apostolic office to which he had appointed Paul; and the fact that Paul shared so abundantly in the sufferings and weakness of Christ's crucifixion experience not only provided the appropriate marks of apostleship but also served to give Paul the power of the risen Christ to overcome all the redoubts of Christ's enemies (10:3 ff.). The paradox of that one death which turned weakness into everlasting and invincible strength was at work in Paul's person giving him strength to triumph in all his sufferings, to bear the burdens of the weak, and to combat with burning (*πυροῦσθαι*) indignation (11:29)¹ everything which causes stumbling in those who belong to Christ.

In boasting of his weakness he gives special emphasis to the manner of his escape from Damascus many years before, introducing his account of

¹The meaning may, however, be that Paul burns with distress. Plummer (ICC, p. 331) suggests: "Who is entrapped into sin, and my heart is not ablaze with pain?" R. P. C. Hanson (op. cit., p. 85) thinks the burning is "with sympathy and with a desire to help."

it with a solemn assertion of his truthfulness.¹ This has always puzzled commentators.² Why did Paul consider such a circumstance so important, and why did he think his readers might suspect him of inventing it? Is it possible that there was something about the incident as described by Paul which would powerfully suggest to people of that day an association between the incident and what happened in a Roman crucifixion — such as the manner in which a body would be lowered from a cross by friends of the dead man? Or perhaps the undignified weakness of such a means of deliverance from his enemies suggested the shame associated with the whole experience of crucifixion — and it was through the experience of the cross, when part of the shame which men saw in it for Jesus was its apparent revelation of Jesus' weakness as compared with the strength of his enemies, that Jesus actually did escape from his enemies (Rom. 6:7, 9 f.; 1 Cor. 2:8). That Paul did have the weakness of Christ in his crucifixion in mind as he boasted of his weakness can hardly be doubted. In boasting of his weakness he was following the principle which he had enunciated in an earlier letter: "But far be it from me to glory (καυχᾶσθαι, to boast) except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. 6:14).

Furthermore, Paul's enemies — like those who crucified Jesus — were not only those of flesh and blood. Satan delegated one of his ἄγγελοι to

¹Cf. Plummer, *ibid.*, p. 332. It might be supposed, writes Plummer, "that the assertion refers to what precedes and has no connection with the verses which follow it; that, however, is an unsatisfactory solution, and it leaves the sudden transition unexplained."

²Cf. *loc. cit.*, where Plummer mentions some commentators who "find the want of connection so surprising that they would banish these two verses...as an interpolation." For himself Plummer concludes (p. 333) that "we must be content therefore to leave the reason for the sudden mention of this incident open."

harass Paul with a debilitating illness to hinder his apostolic endeavours (2 Cor. 12:7).¹ When Paul calls his illness a *σκόλοψ τῆ σαρκί*, is this an expression which he intended as an allusion to Christ's sufferings? *σκόλοψ* can mean either "thorn" or "stake". If Paul intended it to mean "thorn", then it may allude to the literal thorns in the flesh which Christ suffered -- and how suggestive of strength through weakness and victory through suffering is Christ's crown of thorns! If Paul intended it to mean "stake" then it may allude to crucifixion as an impaling.² Also, the use of the dative makes it possible that "for the flesh" is a better translation than "in the flesh".³ In that case, Paul may have meant that Satan was unwittingly 'crucifying' Paul's flesh -- as the *ἄρχοντες* had unwittingly caused their own defeat by crucifying the fleshly body of Jesus (1 Cor. 2:8) -- so that the glorified Christ in him might have full scope.⁴ With the weakening of Paul's fleshly nature the grace of Christ became all-sufficient; Christ's power reached perfection in Paul's weakness (12:9). Therefore Paul could say:

I will all the more gladly boast of my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. For the sake of Christ, then, I am content with weaknesses, insults,

1 Cf. M. Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, pp. 45 ff.

² Cf. Plummer, op. cit., pp. 348 f., "In class. Grk. the common meaning of *σκόλοψ* is 'stake,' either for palisading or impaling....Hence *σκόλοψ* was sometimes used of the cross (Orig. c. Cels. ii. 68) and *ἀνασκολοπίσω* of crucifixion (Eus. H.E. ii. 25)."

³ Cf. Plummer, loc. cit., "'For the flesh' is on the whole more probable than 'in the flesh'."

⁴ If this is the case, then there is some relation between Paul's thinking here and in 1 Cor. 5:5.

hardships, persecutions, and calamities; for when I am weak, then I am strong (12:9 f.).

And the strength which was given to Paul in his weakness flowed also to others united with him in the body of Christ. Paul's assurance of this mystical truth gave him further reason to rejoice in the sufferings which caused his weakness:

We are glad when we are weak and you are strong (13:9; cf. 1 Cor. 4:10).

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We have been giving our attention largely to passages from Second Corinthians. Paul's letter to the Philippians also gives important expression to his conviction that sufferings and death which are endured for Christ's sake share in the victory which Christ won through his death.

This letter was written in the shadow of death, and Paul wrote it to give his dear friends and disciples in Philippi — who were discouraged by persecution and, even more, by the possibility of losing Paul — assurance that there is reason to rejoice in the Lord in all circumstances, including the eventuality of Paul's execution. It was through death on a cross that Jesus won exaltation for himself and them and had drawn them to himself in the exulting faith that "Jesus Christ is Lord" (Phil. 2:8 ff.). Paul's death as Christ's apostle could also serve the interests of their faith. When and if he were called upon to bow his head for the stroke of the sword, it would be to pour out his blood as a libation upon the offering which they were making of their lives, in faith, to God (2:17). Only if their faith held would they be finally saved in the day of Christ (2:16), and if Paul was to be called to seal with his death his efforts to win

them to faith in Christ and to build them up in the faith, that could only serve to make their salvation and his own more sure.¹ This was reason indeed for them to rejoice with him if he were sentenced to death.

Even if I am to be poured as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all. Likewise you also should be glad and rejoice with me (2:17 f.).

If Paul, through their prayers and "the help of the Spirit of Jesus Christ", were enabled to die well, that would bring honour to Christ (1:19 f.) and would strengthen the faith of his brothers in Christ. It would further increase their boldness "to speak the word of God without fear" (1:14). It would help them to realize that their own suffering for Christ's sake is an omen (ἐνδεξις) of their salvation in him who won their salvation through suffering on the cross, and it would help them to appreciate the truth that it is a part of God's gracious gift (ἐχαρίσθη) to them that they should be called upon not only to believe in Christ but also to suffer for his sake (1:28 f.).

In glowing language Paul expresses his yearning to know Christ in sharing his sufferings and to become "like him in his death". Why? "That if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead." Knowing Christ and "the power of his resurrection" is inseparable from knowing Christ in his sufferings (3:10 f; Rom. 8:17). He was sure that to die a death of this character would be "gain" for him in that it would surely cause him

¹Cf. M. R. Vincent (ICC, p. 72), who offers this paraphrase of Phil. 2:17 f.: "Even if I should be poured out as a libation in addition to the sacrifice of your faith which you are offering to God, I rejoice, and rejoice with you, because such a result will promote your salvation, and that will be a cause of joy to us both alike."

to be "with Christ", which is "far better" (1:21 ff.).

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Not that Paul coveted death as such. It is a great mistake to think that Paul had come to regard death in itself as a friend. Death was no friend to Jesus, nor had it become a friend to those who belong to Jesus. The only death which is redemptive is Christ's death, and only when the believer's death is like (συμμορφούμενος) Christ's death and therefore sharing in his death does it enable a person to know the "power of his resurrection" (3:10). The reason for this is that the Son of God came to meet man's deepest needs, and he did so in dying a sinner's death; therefore the sinner, if he is to know the power of Christ's salvation, must meet Christ where Christ came to meet him — at the cross. Only when a man is willing to share what Christ bore for him can he find salvation. However, a death which is sought as an escape "to better things" is not like Christ's death and would have no power to deliver. There is nothing to indicate that Paul was seeking martyrdom. He did want his dear friends in Philippi to know that he had been given a wonderful inner victory over fear.¹ Fearful as death is, the death that is for Christ's sake cannot possibly separate a believer from his Lord; it can

¹The language of Philippians reflects a mood of equanimity in regard to death greater than that found elsewhere in Paul's letters. This should occasion no surprise, nor should it be used as evidence that Paul's theological understanding of death had changed. It has often been the experience of Christian believers that when death becomes imminent they are given a "peace of God which passes all understanding" which keeps guard over their hearts and minds "in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 4:7). Their faith has not changed; it has only been proven valid. A remarkable volume of testimony to this reality is Du hast mich heimgesucht bei Nacht, ed. by Gollwitzer, Kuhn, and Schneider, Munich, 1954. This volume consists of letters written by anti-

only deliver the believer into a closer fellowship with Christ (Rom. 8:36 ff.). And Paul hungered for this closer fellowship, but even as he confessed this -- to reassure them -- he made it plain that, in view of all the work he had to do in the flesh, he would be delighted if the Roman authorities would decide to release him. Then he could "remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith, so that in me you may have ample cause to glory in Christ Jesus, because of my coming to you again" (1:25 f.).

Unless one sees that Paul maintained a consistent attitude towards death as evil he will have no explanation for the fact that Paul continues -- even in those letters which most emphasize the redemptive power of sharing in Christ's suffering and death -- to speak of death as something to be avoided.¹ In Philippians, for example, he writes of having been greatly distressed over the illness of Epaphroditus, in which he had almost died; and Paul regarded his recovery as a great mercy from God, "lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow." He commends Epaphroditus to them as one who "nearly died for the work of Christ, risking his life to complete your service to me" (2:27 ff.). There is no suggestion here

Nazi Germans while they awaited execution. Like Paul's letter to his friends in Philippi, they were written, in part, to assure their families and friends that Christ had conquered their fears in the face of death -- a death brought upon them because of their opposition to forces of surpassing devilishness.

¹This fact clearly cannot be explained by the theory that Paul's eschatological views changed as it became clear to him that he probably would not live until the Parousia. Of course, there is always the 'explanation' that Paul was not a careful systematic thinker and so fell into the inconsistencies natural to the more intuitive, emotional kind of thinker. This is an easy explanation, but it does scant justice to his towering intellect. It also serves to produce a fuzzy picture of Paul's convictions -- making it easier to discount or ignore them.

that Paul considered death a friend, even when death comes in line of service to Christ. His language plainly shows that he regarded death as a bitter, unhappy circumstance both for the one who dies and for his friends. If Epaphroditus had died there would have been reason to rejoice, certainly, over the victory which death in Christ's service gives; but it would be the kind of joy which is inspired by the Holy Spirit in the midst of affliction (1 Thess. 1:6). There would be no grounds for complacent acceptance of death.

The same is true in Second Corinthians. There is one statement in the letter which, if contemplated out of context, might seem to give clear grounds for saying that Paul believed that Christ has transformed death into a friendly reality and that the believer can accept its embrace as he would that of a friend. "We are of good courage," he writes, "and we would rather be away from the body and at home with the Lord" (5:8). But we must remind ourselves that death is elsewhere in this letter treated as the result of the oppressions of evil powers, which becomes redemptive only when it is experienced while bearing the sufferings of Christ in faith and love. Christ has overcome death's power to destroy the one who is baptized into the death of Christ, and he even uses death as a means of grace; but death is still a repulsive thing which Paul did not want to experience. He did not want to be "unclothed" (5:4), but if Christ postpones his appearing and he must go through the experience of death he will do so with the courage faith gives, believing that Christ will meet him in that experience and take him to himself. The very great reluctance which Paul felt towards experiencing bodily dissolution he reveals without embarrassment when, speak-

ing of a recent brush with death, he writes:

For we do not want you to be ignorant, brethren, of the affliction we experienced in Asia; for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself. Why, we felt that we had received the sentence of death; but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead; he delivered us from so deadly a peril, and he will deliver us; on him we have set our hope that he will deliver us again (1:8 ff.).

That Paul could think of accepting death only with the greatest reluctance is expressed with less emotion but with equal clarity in Rom. 5:7 f.:

Why, one will hardly die for a righteous man — though perhaps for a good man one will dare even to die. But God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.

In the great climax to the eighth chapter of Romans Paul proclaims the absolute security of the believer in the love of God which comes to him in Christ. Denying that anything in all creation is able to separate him from that love, he mentions a variety of things which might be thought capable of doing so. Death is the dominant consideration. Not only does death head the list found in the last two verses, but in the separate list found in the preceding verses, of things in which "we are more than conquerors through him that loved us", we find that death is the all-encompassing consideration — if we remember that for Paul death includes all things which imperil life:

Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written,
 "For thy sake we are being killed all the day long;
 we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered." (8:35 f.)

Finally, in 1 Cor. 9:15 this same attitude towards death is revealed in an impressive way because revealed in an off-hand way, merely as an expression of strong feeling. He writes that he would rather die than be forced to give up his freedom to preach the gospel without charge.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Death as Sleep -- The Intermediate State

In what state does the man in Christ exist between the time death causes the dissolution of his body and the time when, at the return of Christ, his body will be "redeemed" from the power of death by transformation into a "body of glory"? To determine what Paul's thinking was on this question is the purpose of the present chapter.

Unfortunately, we have very little to go on. According to H. A. A. Kennedy, "we have no information as to the apostle's conception of the state after death of those who had died or should die before the Parousia."¹ Although there is at present great diversity of opinion as to what Paul believed concerning an intermediate state, there appears to be general agreement that little or nothing can be found in the Pauline letters which may be regarded as a definite expression of Paul's mind on this subject. For example, in 1955 J. N. Sevenster wrote:

Was Bultmann in seinem Artikel $\Theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in Kittel's Wörterbuch vom ganzen Neuen Testament sagt, gilt sicher von den paulinischen Briefen: über den Zwischenzustand zwischen Tod und Auferstehung enthält das N.T. keine ausdrücklichen Aussagen. In der Tat, expressis verbis, schreibt Paulus darüber nirgends.²

We should be careful, however, not to underrate the significance of the hints which the Pauline letters do give us about Paul's thinking on this question. Furthermore, it is patently false to say that Paul had no

¹ St Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things, p. 266.

² "Einige Bemerkungen über den 'Zwischenzustand' bei Paulus", New Testament Studies, vol. I, no. 4, May, 1955, p. 292.

interest in the intermediate state. Certainly he expected Christ's return and the resurrection very soon, but the earliest of his extant letters reveals that there was great concern in one of his churches over the fate of some believers who had died; and Paul was the kind of pastor who would not take this concern lightly. The question of how believers were to think of their brothers in Christ who had "fallen asleep" must have constantly arisen when Paul visited his churches. In at least two of Paul's later letters, Second Corinthians and Philippians, there is a clearly reflected concern over the likelihood that he himself would die before the Parousia. What the Pauline letters have to say about the intermediate state is little indeed, but it is not insignificant -- especially if we evaluate it in the light of everything else they have to say about death.

In any case, the intermediate state has been a subject of great interest to subsequent generations of Christians, and theologians have ordinarily not followed Paul's example of reticence. Many widely different doctrines have been developed, in support of which the writings of Paul have been pressed into service. These have ranged all the way from the doctrine of "soul sleep" to that of Purgatory.¹

Our concern, however, is exegetical rather than historical, and we shall therefore deal with such doctrines only insofar as doing so will help us to come to grips with our subject.

¹The Pauline text used most commonly in support of the doctrine of Purgatory is 1 Cor. 3:11-15. E. Stauffer, a Protestant theologian, has suggested that this text and 1 Cor. 5:5 provide some valid support for this doctrine (N.T.Theology, p. 212). Of course, the present Roman Catholic form of the doctrine pictures Purgatory not as a state intermediate between death and the resurrection of the body but as a state between death and full beatitude of the soul in the presence of God.

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The present state of Pauline studies is such as to require us to give particular attention to a widely held and vigorously defended view which, in effect, rejects the legitimacy of the question which we have set out to answer. It is the view -- which has been held for a number of decades in a variety of forms by leading New Testament scholars -- that the Apostle in his later years no longer believed in an intermediate state. It is held that his earlier epistles, up to and including First Corinthians, reflect a largely apocalyptic type of eschatology which is strongly futuristic in character. These epistles emphasize the return of Christ, final judgment, and resurrection as events which will terminate the present age and inaugurate the eternal age. All the later letters, however, beginning with Second Corinthians, are said to show that Paul's mind had undergone a radical change away from an eschatology inherited from Jewish apocalyptic. A certain harsh dualism was replaced by a more generous attitude towards the world. The old futuristic eschatology was greatly modified by one which puts emphasis on God's saving activity in the present.¹ And, it is said, Paul had now come to believe that he would experience full redemption at the time of death. He no longer expected to have to wait for an interval in the realm of the dead while the Lord postponed his coming. Death would usher him into full glory and blessedness with Christ.² Though Paul's new view is not to be simply identified with

¹ See C. H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, Manchester, 1953, pp. 109 ff.

² Cf. R. H. Charles, Eschatology, 2nd ed., p. 458, "In the interval... that elapsed between the first and second epistles, he came to a conscious breach with the older view, and henceforth taught the resurrection to be the immediate sequel of departure from this life."

the Greek conception of the immortality of the soul, it has moved a long way in that direction.

As we examine Paul's letters, therefore, it will be with a double purpose: (a) to test this theory while (b) we try to determine what Paul's thinking probably was about the intermediate state.

There is, fortunately, a large amount of agreement as to which passages are of critical importance. Most discussion about Paul's views centres about 2 Cor. 5:1-10, Phil. 1:23, and the fact that Paul frequently refers to the dead in Christ as being "asleep". Since, however, these passages are unquestionably ambiguous and exegetical treatment of them by able New Testament scholars results in widely different results, it is obvious that the exegetical results must largely be determined by the preconceptions of the exegete. Recognizing this, let us see what the results will be if we consciously approach the debated passages indirectly, carrying to them the results of (perhaps we should say "preconceptions which have arisen from") our extended investigation of Paul's theology of death -- making use also of any other considerations which appear relevant.

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We have seen that Paul's thinking about salvation is dominated by the figure of Jesus Christ and especially by the by the effects of his death and resurrection on those united to him by faith. Christ took on our sinful flesh in order to become like us, and he died and rose again that we might become like him in his glory. The salvation which Christ won for himself in his death-resurrection is also the salvation which he

is working to fulfil in those who are members of his body. Paul's hope rested in the confidence that the redemption Christ experienced will be duplicated in the believer.

What, then, happened to Jesus when he died? Did death usher him immediately into glory? No, though it was brief, there was a definite interval between his death and resurrection. Paul makes plain that he wholeheartedly accepted the testimony of the primitive church that "Christ died...was buried...was raised on the third day" (1 Cor. 15:3 f.). We have no word from Paul as to how he conceived of Christ's experience of the intermediate state — although Rom. 10:7 and Eph. 4:9 have sometimes been taken to refer to it¹ — but it is important to remind ourselves that Paul recognized such an interval and that he thought of it coming to an end with the resurrection of Christ's body. There can be no question that Paul believed in the empty tomb. The body of Jesus was raised and transformed into a "body of glory" (Phil. 3:20 f.). Therein did he experience redemption from the power of sin and death. Without it he would have perished, just as "those also who have died in Christ have perished" if the dead are not raised (1 Cor. 15:16 ff.). When Paul wrote First Corinthians many believers had already died. None of them yet shared in Christ's resurrection glory. They were all in another state of being — the intermediate state — since Christ alone is "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20). Whenever Paul refers to the resurrection of believers it is always in the future. The "redemption of our bodies" is a thing of hope — a hope which will be ful-

¹See S. D. F. Salmond, The Christian Doctrine of Immortality, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 418 ff.

filled only when the whole creation is renewed (Rom. 8:19 ff.)¹

Knowing what Paul has to say about death as evil and what he has to say about the effect of the redemptive death of Jesus on those united to him, what does this suggest about the state of those who are awaiting resurrection? First of all, it must be completely clear that Paul's view of death as such made it impossible for him to think of death as Plato pictures Socrates viewing his approaching death. Death is the work of sin and it cannot of itself deliver to a fuller life. However, there is a great difference for one who is in Christ. Although death is an evil power, it cannot separate the believer from the love of God in Christ (Rom. 8:35 ff.). He is bound inseparably to Christ. Though death would bring a man to something less than life, those who have been baptized into the Christ who died for them go through the experience of death as "more than conquerors". Paul, believing death to be the work of sin's power, knew a keen hesitancy at the thought of $\phi\thetaορ\acute{\alpha}$ having its way fully with his person, but it was far different for him than it had been for the saints of ancient Israel. For them to die was to go into a strange land away from the Lord. Paul, however, would go through death with the Lord to a place where he would be with his Lord; because Christ had gone through death before him as the Conqueror who possesses the land of death for those who belong to him.²

¹It is to be noted that Romans was written after the supposed radical shift in Paul's thinking is said to have largely liberated him from a futurist eschatology.

²Cf. Otto Weber, Grundlagen der Dogmatik, I, p. 689, "Es gibt nicht nur todverfallenes Leben, sondern auch lebenbringenden Tod ('Christus ist mein Leben, Sterben ist mein Gewinn'; Phil. 1,21). Das wäre im Alten Testament noch keine mögliche Aussage; denn in ihr geht es nicht um irgendein

None of us lives to himself, and none of us dies to himself. If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living (Rom. 14:7 ff.).

The believer may have the strongest assurance, therefore, that in the intermediate state he will be with Christ in conscious and joyful fellowship. The doctrine of "soul sleep" fails to do justice to Paul's expressions of heroic and joyful confidence that death could not separate him from Christ. If death should be able to destroy the believer's conscious fellowship with Christ it would succeed in bringing him to a state less than life -- less even than life in the body of sinful flesh. "Soul sleep" would mean rest, but for the lover of Christ it is better to know him in the midst of bitter trials than to have rest from those trials without the joy of fellowship with him.

In Christ the Holy Spirit has made the believer inwardly a "new creation", and death has no power over this work of the Spirit.¹ The Spirit is with all who are awaiting the redemption of their bodies (Rom. 8:23), and where the Spirit is there is true life. How could the Spirit leave the believer, when "the Lord is the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:17)? Of course, no one can know the full life of glory, the life of the coming aeon, until the Spirit recreates his body also into a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*; yet there is a positive gain in the fact that the old body of sinful flesh no longer troubles him. "For he who has died is freed from sin" (Rom. 6:7).

Jenseits-an-sich, sondern um die Person Jesu Christi, in der Gott unser 'Jenseits' ist."

¹ Cf. O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, p. 53.

With the power of sin no longer able to burden and cloud his spirit with its perpetual temptations, he can know the fellowship of Christ in the Spirit with much more clarity and joy.

But does not this imply a kind of un-Hebraic anthropological dualism which would be quite unnatural to Paul? Since, like a good Hebrew, he put enormous emphasis on the need for a body if one is to experience the fullness of redemption, how could he believe in a conscious life of joyous fellowship with Christ for a disembodied spirit?¹ Well, we have seen that Paul made important use of the distinction between the *ἐσω* and the *ἐξω* *ἀνθρώπου*. If before death it can be true that a believer's spirit is "alive" while his body is "dead" (Rom. 8:10), does this not suggest that when the body becomes dead in a fully literal sense that the spirit will survive in that new life received from the Spirit before the dissolution of the "outer man"? And if the "inner man" is "renewed" even as the "outer man" decays (2 Cor. 4:16), why should it not carry on independently of the body?

We have, in fact, a passage which shows that Paul believed it altogether possible for a person to experience the raptures of Paradise "outside the body" (*ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος*) or "apart from the body" (*χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος*). With great reticence, in the midst of his "boastings" to the Corinthians, he speaks of an experience which had been given to him fourteen years before, in which he had been caught up into the third heaven — into Paradise (2 Cor.

¹ Perhaps one can go even further and say that 1 Cor. 15:32 proves that Paul could simply not understand the position of those who looked for a worthwhile after-life apart from a resurrection of the body. But that would be to miss the point. Paul means that if the dead are not raised, then Christ was conquered by sin and death. In that case there is no salvation from sin and death. There may be an after-life, but it cannot be a worthwhile one apart from salvation in Christ. If sin and death conquered Christ, they will most certainly destroy us too.

12:2 ff.). He could not express what he had experienced, but that he had been in Paradise he could not doubt. Just how it had happened was quite beyond him, and one of the things which he could not explain — and he makes a special point of this — is whether he had experienced this in his body, as Enoch and Elijah did, or apart from it.¹ The fact that he was led to think that it may have been apart from the body implies that Paul could indeed conceive of being consciously with the Lord in a disembodied state.

Can we not reasonably say, then, that Paul's teaching allows and implies belief in an intermediate state for those who die before the Parousia? Does it not also imply that Paul would expect that in that state he would be with Christ in conscious and joyful fellowship? Does not Paul's whole teaching about death — as evil but also as the means by which, in Christ, we are redeemed — prepare us, furthermore, to be unsurprised when we find evidence that Paul felt both revulsion and confident joy when he faced the possibility of dying?

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Let us now turn to 2 Cor. 5:1-10 — a passage which is unquestionably of great significance for understanding Paul's mind in regard to the intermediate state but which is so ambiguous that it gives rise to radically different conclusions. Let us see if perhaps Paul may be reflecting in these verses the conjectural reconstruction of his thinking as offered above.

¹Plummer comments that with the use of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon \dots \epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$, Paul "places the two alternatives on an equality" (ICC, p. 342).

First of all, it is an exegetical principle of first importance that a passage should be studied in context. Our passage really begins at 4:7, where Paul begins to consider the fragility of his body and the obvious progress death is making towards its dissolution. His confidence in the face of this fact is twofold. First, he is sure that, even as death is destroying his body, the living, triumphant Christ is at work in him and through him in the interests of life (4:7-12); and, second, he looks forward to the resurrection, "knowing that he who raised the Lord Jesus will raise us also with Jesus and bring us with you into his presence" (4:14). This two-fold source of confidence is expressed again in the verses just preceding 5:1. First, he does "not lose heart" in spite of the deterioration of his body, because "though our $\epsilon\zeta\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ is wasting away, our $\epsilon\sigma\omega$ is being renewed every day" (4:16), i.e. the "new creation" of the Holy Spirit is becoming constantly a greater and more durable reality within him even while bodily death approaches. Second, the present sufferings which are bringing him to death are "preparing for us an eternal weight of glory beyond all comparison" (4:17). In the light of 4:14, it must be clear that the "eternal weight of glory" is that which follows upon the future resurrection of all believers rather than that which comes to the individual believer at death. So then, what does v. 18 mean?

Because we look not to the things that are seen but to the things that are unseen; for the things that are seen are transient, but the things that are unseen are eternal.

Is this to be understood in a sort of Platonic way, the way of idealistic philosophy, or is Paul speaking eschatologically? Is the unseen reality that which always is and which is opened up to the believer in a

new way at death, or is Paul speaking of a reality which is now unseen but which will be visible when Christ returns and the whole cosmos is redeemed? The way in which one answers this question ought to do much to determine his interpretation of the verses which follow.¹ If the interpreter has accepted the view that Second Corinthians represents a radical shift in Paul's whole outlook away from a 'Jewish' type of eschatology to one in which a futurist hope has largely or completely disappeared and with it anything which can properly be called eschatology, then he will settle for the first interpretation. If, however, the interpreter rejects the theory of a radical shift in Paul's thinking as failing to do justice to the facts,² then he will adopt the second.

¹H. A. A. Kennedy (St Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things, p. 264) says that "the line of thought which was uppermost with St Paul" when he wrote 2 Cor. 5:1 ff. "is determined by the conclusion of chap. 4, which must never be separated from the opening of chap. 5. In 4:16-18, he emphasizes the contrast between the weariness and trouble of the earthly life even for the Christian, and the glory which awaits him in the unseen eternal future."

²That the Pauline letters differ notably in tone and form and emphasis is, of course, undebatable. The question is whether or not the differences proceed from variations in the situations to which Paul addressed his letters or from major changes in Paul's outlook. We have from Paul himself that he was willing to make great changes in his manner of approach to people in order to achieve as great a success as possible in his missionary efforts (1 Cor. 9:19-23). In other words, he was consciously and determinedly flexible. But we also have from him the most solemn assertion that the gospel he preached was unchangeable (Gal. 1:8 f.). Paul was not engaging in verbal bluster when he prescribed a curse for the man or angel who altered the message he had brought at first -- and he pointedly included himself. He was no retailer of opinions arrived at by speculation; he was sure that he was a proclaimer of divine revelation. Paul therefore deserves that we do not charge him with altering his message in any major way unless we have the most irrefragable evidence.

One indication of weakness in the position of those who believe that Paul went through a fundamental change of outlook between his earlier and later letters is the difficulty they have had in discovering a satisfactory explanation of how and why the change came about. The earlier proponents

The present writer feels that the second is demanded by the context and understands Paul to continue, in 5:1-10, to speak of the double reassurance which came to him from the reality of Christ's life within him and from his hope of the resurrection and transformation of the bodies of all who belong to Christ along with the renewal of all things at the Parousia.

It is in the face of death's approach and "the dreary and repellent experience of dying"¹ that Paul brings forward first one and then the other side of this double reassurance. In 5:1-4 the reassurance springs entirely from the hope of the resurrection of the body at the time of Christ's appearing.

For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here indeed we groan, and long to put on our heavenly dwelling, so that by putting it on we may not be found naked. For while we are still in this tent, we sigh with anxiety; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be

of this theory (Sabatier, etc.) saw Paul coming more and more under the influence of Greek thinking, causing him to progressively² abandon his Jewish heritage. The weight of more recent Pauline scholarship has tended, however, to discount this supposed Greek influence. The presumption that Paul gradually changed his mind has also been seriously questioned. C. H. Dodd, who himself subscribes to the "development theory", admits of doubt. "A generation ago," he writes, "most critics were confident that the differences could be explained by development through lapse of time. The idea of evolution seemed at that period to be the universal clue to knowledge in all fields, and the epistles were studied as documents for 'the evolution of Paulinism'. It may well be that this school overpressed the evidence in the interests of a neat scheme of development" (New Testament Studies, p. 83). So Dodd has proposed a theory which appeals to one of the special prepossessions of his generation. On the basis of a psychological analysis of Paul, he concludes that Paul underwent a sudden change -- a sort of second conversion.

¹ Cf. R. H. Strachan, Second Corinthians (MNTC), p. 100, "His mind recoils from the idea of being a disembodied spirit.... 'Not that I want to be stripped' may mean that Paul is possessed by the human longing to escape the dreary and repellent experience of dying, the shedding of the body of flesh."

further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life.

The language of these verses is the expression of strong and deep feeling and has the suggestive, unprecise quality more characteristic of poetry than prose.¹ Paul is expressing in exalted diction the tension between misery and hope which fills him. Because he contemplates with wonder and joy the hope of one day being glorified with Christ (Rom. 8:17) he feels more intensely the miseries of the present evil age in which his body of flesh involves him — the body which is fast wasting away. This causes him to "groan" and to "sigh with anxiety". But this in turn makes the resurrection hope seem more glorious. He yearns to exchange his *σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως* for his *σῶμα τῆς δόξης*, which he will do when the Saviour appears in his glory (Phil. 3:20 f.). It is this exchange for which he yearns and not for mere freedom from his present body. It is not that he would be "unclothed" — which will happen if he dies before the Parousia. He would rather escape the "nakedness" which would then ensue. In saying this he may well have in mind those in Corinth who reject the resurrection hope and want freedom from the body. Not only does Paul's 'Hebrew mind' find the thought of being disembodied abhorrent, but he wants to be like Christ, who lives in a body of glory. It is not freedom from the body but a better body which he ardently desires. He wants to be "further cloth-

¹H. A. A. Kennedy (op. cit., p. 263) writes of the theory that Paul changed his mind between 1 and 2 Cor. from a conception of resurrection at the Parousia to one at death: "The hypothesis really springs from a literalistic, pedantic interpretation of St Paul's statements. It seems impossible for some exegetes to rid themselves of the notion that when this fervid, ardent missionary, glowing with intense spiritual life, sat down to write to a community of his Christian friends and converts, he could not avoid composing an outline of systematic theology."

ed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life." It is not that he wants to die so that he can shed his body. This will, apparently, soon happen to him; and he is prepared to meet this eventuality with courage, because one day soon the "trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable" (1 Cor. 15:52).¹

But if Paul does not expect to receive his glorified body at the time of his death, why is it that in v. 1 $\epsilon\chi\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ is in the present tense? Does it not sound as if Paul expects to take as his abode immediately after death the "house not made with hands" which is already awaiting him?² The answer is that Paul uses the present tense to express the certainty of his hope. The thing is already settled, already provided for. Much the same is found

¹Cf. J. Denney, Second Corinthians (Ex B), p. 181, "'Come what will,' he says, 'come death itself, this [the future redemption of the body] is ours; and because it is ours, though we dread the possible necessity of having to strip off the old body, and would fain escape it, we do not allow it to dismay us.'"

²R. H. Charles (Eschatology, 2nd ed., p. 458) says that, yes, Paul is here teaching that the believer receives his resurrection at death. But J. A. T. Robinson (The Body, pp. 76 ff.) holds that this refers not to the resurrection of the individual body but to the believer's continuing membership during the intermediate state of the corporate body of Christ, which body he began to put on at baptism and will receive fully at the Parousia. "Nowhere in the New Testament has the resurrection of the body anything specifically to do with the moment of death. The key 'moments' for this are baptism and the Parousia. Death is significant, not for the entry into the new solidarity, but for the dissolution of the old" (p. 79). E. E. Ellis, however, (Paul and his Recent Critics, Grand Rapids, 1961, chap. 4) although he follows Robinson in taking the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" to refer to the corporate body of Christ, concludes that 2 Cor. 5:1-10 has no reference at all to what immediately follows death. Paul's thinking throughout this passage — including his talk of "nakedness" — is not at all concerned with what happens at death but is completely centred on the Parousia hope. "And if the above analysis is correct, 2 Cor. 5 cannot be used at all to illustrate a changed Pauline theology of the intermediate state: the passage simply does not deal with the intermediate state. The contrasts throughout are between this age and the age-to-come and are completely within the framework of Paul's parousia eschatology and his concept of corporate solidarity" (p. 48).

in Rom. 8:30, where Paul says of persons who are still a part of this present evil aeon: "Those whom he justified he also glorified."¹ The future is treated as present because it is so sure to faith. 1 Peter, which often follows Paul closely, provides another example of this. In 1:3 ff. we read of "a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead", which is set on an indestructible inheritance "kept in heaven for you...a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time." The saving event is future, to be revealed at the Parousia, but it is now fully prepared.

Verse 5 appears to serve as a transition from one form of reassurance to the other.

He who has prepared us for this very thing is God,
who has given us the Spirit as a guarantee.

Although "this very thing" is the future glory for which God has been preparing Paul even in his sufferings (see 4:17), and the Spirit is the $\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\beta\acute{\omega}\nu$ of this future glory; still the Spirit is also the Source of the "new creation" within — the renewal of the "inner man" which increases even as the body decays. This gives assurance that even death cannot really harm the man in Christ.

Whether or not this is the correct interpretation of v. 5, in the following three verses the second kind of reassurance comes to the front.

So we are always of good courage; we know that while we are at home in the body we are away from the Lord, for we walk by faith, not by sight. We are of good courage, and we would rather be away from the body and at home with the Lord.

¹In both 2 Cor. 5:1 and Rom. 8:28 Paul expresses this mood of certainty with $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$.

Here Paul is saying, in effect, that if he must die before the Lord's return he will do so with courage, since he is sure that death — repugnant as it is — cannot separate him from Christ. In fact, death will make possible a closer fellowship with Christ than Paul could ever have in his body of sinful flesh. Therefore, looking past death and considering that to which a death in Christ will surely bring him, he can honestly say, by the courage which faith gives, that he would be glad even to be unclothed.¹

In vv. 9 and 10 Paul's attention swings back again to the Parousia — not this time to the accompanying resurrection but to the accompanying judgment, and not for consolation in the face of death but for incentive to earnest living while one still lives in the body.

So whether we are at home or away, we make ^{it} our aim to please him. For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that each one may receive good or evil according to what he has done in the body.

It should be noted that one will be judged by "what he has done in the body"; that is, he will be judged only by what he does up to the time of death. Perhaps this is pressing out of the expression more than Paul intended to put into it, but it would appear to imply that only with a body can a person really do anything. The disembodied state, even though

¹ Cf. W. Manson, "Eschatology in the New Testament", SJT Occasional Papers #2, Edinburgh, 1953, pp. 13 f., "As regards this individual eschatology St. Paul makes it clear to his converts that death may come to them before the Consummation arrives, in which case they are to consider that they will enter on some blessed intermediate state of life in which they will be 'with Christ' (Phil. 1.23). At this point the Jewish conception of Paradise or Gan Eden is taken over by the Christian eschatology, but made subordinate to the thought of all life as 'Christ' (Phil. 1.21). It is probable that physical death, what we call the debt to nature, was construed as incidental to, and part of that 'dying with Christ', to which the believer was committed in baptism. It must be noticed, however, that the apostle did not find it easy to adjust his mind to the idea of an intermediate state (2 Cor. 5.1-8)."

allowing conscious joy in fellowship with Christ, will be a passive resting in Christ -- something like sleep.

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Another and much briefer passage which figures importantly in contemporary discussion concerning Paul's thinking about the intermediate state is Phil. 1:23. It will be well to consider this verse in close connection with the two preceding verses:

For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. If it is to be life in the flesh, that means fruitful labor for me. Yet which I shall choose I cannot tell. I am hard pressed between the two. My desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better.

This passage hardly teaches the doctrine of "soul sleep". Would Paul call a state of unconsciousness "far better" than a life of which, with all its trials, he could say: "For to me to live is Christ"? Certainly not. But what of the opposite view? These words are offered by the proponents of the view that Paul in his later years gave up belief in an intermediate state as the final proof that Paul expected at death to enter into full and final blessedness.

Again, let us investigate the context. If Paul had come to believe that it is at death rather than in some eschatological event of the future that the believer comes into possession of full salvation, then this letter should be correspondingly free from futurist eschatological references. The facts are quite the reverse. Philippians abounds with eschatological expressions and express teachings. In 1:6 Paul refers to "the day of Jesus Christ" as a future event of fateful significance for all his readers; again in 1:10 "the day of Christ" is an event at which Paul hopes his friends will be

found "pure and blameless"; and again in 2:16 he appeals to "the day of Christ" as a reason for "holding fast the word of life". The "day of Christ" is, of course, the day when Christ will return in power and glory as Judge and Redeemer. And that is the day when every tongue will "confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (2:11; cf. 1 Cor. 15:24 ff.).

In 4:5 he asserts that ὁ Κύριος ἔγγυς and reasons that the great expectation of the Lord's soon coming should so influence their conduct that "all men" could note the result.¹ In 3:11 he refers to "the resurrection from the dead" and uses a term for "resurrection" (ἐξανάστασις) which is nowhere else used in the New Testament. This is possibly because in the preceding verse he speaks of "the power of his resurrection" as a power which can be experienced in the present, and he wishes to make clear that he is now speaking of rising up out from among the dead in the full eschatological sense.² In 3:20 f. we find a passage which is as eschatological as anything in First Thessalonians. He speaks of Jesus

¹Cf. C. H. Dodd, New Testament Studies, p. 112, "The words of 4:5, 'the Lord is near', are often taken to be an isolated expression of the imminence of the Advent. But the context here is not eschatological, and the words are a reminiscence of Psalm 145:18, 'The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon Him,' which speaks, as does the passage in Philippians, of the nearness of the Lord to hear and answer prayer."

Cf. also J. H. Michael (MNTC, pp. 196 f.), who grants that Dodd's interpretation "gives excellent sense" but concludes that "the commonly accepted and more probable interpretation" is "the Lord is coming soon." Michael notes that "if this second interpretation be accepted, we have here the fifth reference in our epistle to the return of Christ."

²Cf. E. F. Scott, The Interpreter's Bible, vol. 11, p. 87, "He uses a compound word (ἐξανάστασις) to denote not merely the inward resurrection of which every Christian is conscious even in this life, but the ultimate rising from the dead."

Christ coming from heaven as Saviour with power to subject all things to himself and to transform the bodies of all the saints (living and dead) for life in the new commonwealth which will arrive with him from heaven. Finally, the terms "salvation" and "destruction" in 1:28 and 3:19 and "prize" in 3:14 are apparently used in an eschatological sense -- and possibly also the expression "riches in glory in Christ Jesus" in 4:19.¹

Furthermore, it is certainly of some significance to note that this letter is to a great extent devoted to the proposition that a believer should "rejoice in the Lord always." Paul is trying hard to put heart into his discouraged friends in Philippi. In a variety of ways -- and especially in the first chapter -- he shows them how to find reasons for rejoicing in the most objectionable circumstances. He offers reasons for rejoicing in his long imprisonment (1:12-14), for regarding persecution as a privilege (1:28-30), and even for rejoicing in the insincere evangelistic efforts of his enemies (1:15-18). When he turns to the possibility that he will be sentenced to death he begins, "Yes, and I shall rejoice" (1:19 in RSV). May we not reasonably conclude, then, that here too Paul is putting the very best possible face on a situation which both they and he regard as a very dark one?

In the light of the above facts about the context, are we not reasonably led to conclude that what Paul refers to in 1:23 as "far better" is not the ultimate hope but rather a state intermediate between life in a body of flesh and life in a body of glory -- a state which his readers re-

¹See J. N. Sevenster, op. cit., p. 294.

garded as falling far short of their hopes for the Parousia and about which they were more than a little unsure and fearful? The mood of Paul's generation of Christians was greatly different from our own. They had an intensity of eschatological expectation, an emotional concentration on the glories of the age soon to come, which we simply cannot appreciate. Christ was coming soon and those who were then alive would completely escape the experience of bodily dissolution and of going to the place of the dead (1 Cor. 15:51 f.). Paul had established the church in Philippi just before he first preached in Thessalonica, and we can gather from First Thessalonians how very eschatological must have been the message which had created the church in Philippi only about a decade before the time he wrote the passage we are discussing. And we have just noted that he continues to put great emphasis on the coming "day of Christ" for which the believers in Philippi should be ready, when Christ would subject all things to himself, giving them bodies of glory. Now Paul faces imminent death. His readers know it and are depressed by this knowledge. He would encourage them by assuring them that what death would bring him to is "far better"; it will be "gain" for him. Better than what? Better, of course, than life in the present evil age. But if Paul really meant that he would, in the moment after death, come into the fulness of all they were hoping to share with Christ in his glory — and if they knew that is what he meant¹ —

¹If Paul's mind had undergone a radical change of outlook, should we not expect to find some evidence that such a teacher as Paul was making his disciples aware of this by overt instruction? But nothing of the sort can be found anywhere in his letters. Cf. J. N. Sevenster, op. cit., p. 295, "Jedenfalls deutet Paulus nirgends etwas von einer solchen tief einschneidenden Änderung in seinen Gedanken an. Wenn Paulus in II Kor. v eine scharfe Wendung zur griechischen Unsterblichkeitslehre vollzogen haben würde, ist es dann nicht

would he have needed to assure them that what he would be going to in death was "far better"? No, his words make sense only if we understand him to be talking about an intermediate state which they and he thought of as falling far short of the coming glory.

If this is what he was referring to, why did he say that it would be "far better"? The same verse gives the answer: he would be "with Christ".¹ But we have seen how great an emphasis Paul put on the conviction that ever since he was baptized into Christ, he had been in Christ and Christ in him. How could dying cause him to be "with Christ" in a way better than that which he already knew? The answer is that death would finally sever his fleshly union with Adam. Putting off the body of sinful flesh would finally set him free from the power of sin (Rom. 6:7). His fellowship with Christ would be closer and more continuous because the

sonderbar, dass er seine Leser keinen Augenblick auf eine solche Wendung aufmerksam macht, im Gegenteil die Perikope mit den Worten *οὐδ' αὖτε γὰρ* anfängt? Wenn Paulus mit diesen Worten auf eine Tatsache hinweisen will, die für ihn und für die Korinther vollkommen feststeht, so darf es doch fast als ausgeschlossen gelten, dass der Apostel in den folgenden Sätzen etwas sagen will, das zu seiner früheren und späteren Verkündigung von Auferstehung und Gericht bei der Parusie in direktem Widerspruch stehen würde."

¹This was not something new to them. Paul had always taught that those who had "fallen asleep" in Christ are with Christ and will accompany him when he returns (1 Thess. 4:14; 5:10). He is here reminding his friends of this truth in order that they might share in the courage and joy it is bringing to him. Cf. J. H. Michael, Philippians (MNTC), p. 58.

See also M. Dibelius and W. G. Kümmel, Paul, trans. by F. Clarke, London, 1953, pp. 109 f., "At first, the thought of his own death recedes in Paul's mind; he hopes to live long enough to see Christ's return (1 Thess. 4:15, 17). When he realises that death is not far off, this hope seems to be frustrated, and he laments (2 Cor. 5:2, 4) that he may not put on the heavenly garment as soon as death comes, but must expect to be freed from his earthly clothing, and to remain for some time, 'naked', in the grave. Elsewhere he indicates that even in this case he hopes 'to depart, and then be at once with Christ' (Phil. 1:23); and it does not seem as if this idea came to him only at the end of his life."

tension between his new life in Christ and his fleshly being in Adam would finally be at an end. It is sin which separates, and when the *σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* was literally destroyed the presence of sin's power would be gone from his life. He would then rest in untroubled communion with his Lord, waiting for the day of full redemption¹ — the day when his body and the bodies of all "the sons of God" would be "redeemed", and they all would come into their destiny as "fellow heirs with Christ", being "glorified with him" (Rom. 8:17 ff.).

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We must now see if we can learn something of Paul's conception of the intermediate state from his practice of referring to believers who have died as being "asleep".² The fact that both Jews and pagans in Paul's day also referred to death in this way³ ought to make us cautious about assuming that Paul meant to describe the condition of the dead in Christ. In the estimation of William Neil, "Paul doubtless employs the word...because it was in everyday use and not with any theological reference to the intermediate state of the soul."⁴

But even if Paul did not use "asleep" as a way of describing the intermediate state, he did use the term to designate it. This he does

¹For a brief discussion of the place of the intermediate state in Judaism and in early Christian teaching — whether in the underworld or in heaven — see T. F. Glasson, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, London, 1961, pp. 38-47.

²See the appendix on *καμῶσθα* and *καθεύδεις*.

³For evidence of this see W. Neil, Thessalonians (MNTC), p. 92.

⁴Loc. cit.

in 1 Cor. 15:20:

But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep.

There is a great difference between Christ and those who, united with him,¹ are "asleep". He is not asleep. Therefore, "asleep" designates the present condition of those in Christ who are no longer in the body and who also have not yet been "raised from the dead".

We may find a hint that Paul used "asleep" also in a descriptive sense in the fact that he twice pictures the coming of Christ as being heralded by loud sounds -- as if to awaken those sleeping in death.

For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. For the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God. And the dead in Christ will rise first....(1 Thess. 4:15 f.)

Lo! I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised....(1 Cor. 15:51 f.)

To raise the dead would not be the only purpose for the "cry of command", the "archangel's call", and the "last trumpet" -- as it is not that of the trumpet in Ex. 19:16, 19 and apparently not in Mt. 24:31 -- but certainly Paul's language suggests that this is one of the purposes.² Now even if we understand Paul to be using the traditional language of eschatology in

¹Cf. Robertson and Plummer, ICC, p. 350, "'Firstfruit' implies community of nature. The first sheaf offered in the Temple on the morrow of the Pass-over was the same kind as the rest of the harvest, and was a sort of consecration of the whole."

²Cf. W. Neil on 1 Thess. 4:16 (MNTC, p. 101), "The three sounds are presumably to awaken the sleepers."

It is to be remembered that Jesus "cried with a loud voice" in summoning Lazarus from death (John 11:43).

a metaphorical rather than in a literal way --- which is by no means sure --- may we not find here the suggestion that the dead in Christ really need to be awakened? Is not Paul saying that when those who are dead in Christ are summoned along with the living to participation in the new age it will be like a waking from sleep for them? We have noted reasons for thinking that Paul regarded the intermediate state not only as conscious fellowship with Christ but also as an interval of resting and waiting. The fact that the Christian Apocalypse pictures those "who die in the Lord" as resting "from their labours" (Rev. 14:13) and also as praying and waiting --- with some impatience --- for the day of Christ's victory (Rev. 6:11) may be thought to increase the likelihood that Paul held some such view.¹

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Before leaving the question of the intermediate state in Paul's theology we must give consideration to yet another approach --- one which would solve the problems we have been discussing in a simple and sweeping fashion.

¹K. Barth (Church Dogmatics, III, 2, pp. 638 f.) rejects all attempts to see in the New Testament use of κοιμᾶσθαι a view of what the intermediate state is like. "The term 'fall asleep' shows that the New Testament Christians never asked independently concerning the being or state of man in death, or tried to find an answer in the postulate of an intermediate state." He takes this usage to be a "deliberately mild" expression of the early Christians for the dying of their brothers in faith --- even when it is a dying like that of Stephen. "κοιμᾶσθαι does not mean to be asleep but to fall asleep." This may well be, but Barth misuses the expression when he says that it refers to death which has become "a wholly natural thing for the Christian".

For a discussion of the difference between Luther and Calvin on the question of "soul sleep" as helping to explain "the deep element of quietism in Luther's whole position" as contrasted with Calvin's activism see T. F. Torrence, "The Eschatology of the Reformation", SJT Occasional Papers #2, pp. 54 f.

This approach is taken by Emil Brunner.¹ He agrees with those who teach that Phil. 1:23 means that Paul expected death to usher him into the fullness of eternal life, i.e. that there is no intermediate state. But he reaches this interpretation by a different route, asserting that the explanation which "the more recent exegetes" give for "the paradoxical statements of Paul" about what happens at death and what will happen at the Parousia, "by assuming a change in the Apostle's views near the end of his life," does not do justice to Pauline thought. Brunner holds that we should not trouble ourselves with the "embarrassing problem created by the paradoxical statements of Paul" because Paul himself was not troubled by them.

¹Dogmatics, III, trans. by D. Cairns and T. H. L. Parker, London, 1962, pp. 389-393.

Brunner summarizes and rejects the approach taken in our present chapter thus: Some theologians "have sought to do justice to both the trends of Biblical thought, that of the individual's eternal life and that of a general resurrection, by teaching that at death the soul at once receives life in Christ — that is the meaning of the words 'to be with Christ' —, but that it is still 'unclothed', not clothed with the resurrection body, and must await the day of the general Resurrection. But, apart from the obviously mythical character of this idea, its dualism indicates its unbiblical character."

Let our answer be this: Whether the conception we find implied in Paul's writings is mythical or not has nothing to do with the question of its Pauline character. To reject it as unbiblical dualism is to use an opinion which has become a shibboleth. Is there really no dualism in the Bible? Actually the ancient Israelite conception of Sheol involves dualism of a sort, and it is the forerunner of the conception of an intermediate state. Sheol involves the belief that a person does continue to exist apart from the body. One could hardly charge King Saul with having been influenced by Hellenistic ideas when he went to the witch of Endor to gain an interview with the dead Samuel — even though Hebrew and Greek beliefs about the after-life had important similarities at that time.

See also Emil Brunner, Eternal Hope, trans. by H. Knight, London, 1954, pp. 151 ff.

We must assume that Paul was quite unconscious of any contradiction between what he says in Philippians 1:23 and what he says in Philippians 3:20 ff., but that he regarded "departing and being with Christ" and "the coming of the Lord 'in glory'" as one and the same thing.¹

How could Paul do this? According to Brunner, Paul believed that although he could not understand how two things distant in time from each other can be one and the same, that was because he lived in a temporal world. At death, however, he would pass into eternity, where such problems of time sequence are dissolved.

Clearly the insight of Paul's faith has enabled him to disregard with an ease that at first appears incomprehensible to us these thoughts of the "distance" which for our thinking must separate the two events. But this is in accord with the character of the Biblical conception of eternity, which differentiates it from temporal thinking in distance. Perhaps events which lie at a distance from each other in time are not separated from the standpoint of eternity, but simultaneous in the eternal Now.²

This is unquestionably an attractive approach. It is simple and yet profound, clear and straightforward; and, best of all, it helps to remove the great difficulties which modern man has with New Testament eschatology. But does this approach do justice to the exegetical facts? Is it really true to the mind of Paul? For instance, Brunner assumes that there is a "contradiction" between Phil. 1:23 and Phil. 3:20 ff. But there is no contradiction unless one accepts Brunner's interpretation of Phil. 1:23. Brunner assumes that Phil. 1:23 means that for the believer death has become "the opened door through which he enters true life."³ We have seen reasons for thinking that Paul regarded death in Christ as bringing to a "better" life but not to life in its fullest, which is postponed until the Parousia.

¹Ibid., p. 392.

²Ibid., p. 393.

³Ibid., p. 389.

Again, did Paul really contrast time and eternity in the way Brunner imagines he did? We cannot here attempt to deal with the debate which is now raging over the question of time and the Christian message¹ but it should be noted that Brunner's "Biblical conception of eternity" is strongly challenged.

Another way of testing Brunner's interpretation is to ask what would happen if it prevailed in the church. Would it help to restore the eschatological mood of the Pauline epistles and of the rest of the New Testament? Brunner himself expresses the wish that the church should urgently expect the return of Jesus Christ. He says that "something like a law" can be traced in the history of Christendom that "the more powerfully life in the Spirit of God is present in it, the more urgent is its expectation of the Coming of Jesus Christ; so that the fullness of the possession of the Spirit and the urgency of expectation are always found together, as they were in the primitive community."² But if the church assures its people that what the individual believer experiences at death and the coming of Christ in his kingdom are "one and the same thing", what is bound to happen? Will this not serve to centre the hope of the individual on what happens after his own death rather than on the return of the Lord? Would this help to restore the kind of expectation which was present in the primitive community?

The history of the church indicates that it would not. For a very

¹See the preface, pp. xxv ff., to the 2nd ed. of Cullmann's Christ and Time. On page xxvi Cullmann writes, "I still maintain that the New Testament never speculates about God's eternal being, and since it is concerned primarily with God's redemptive activity, it does not make a philosophical, qualitative distinction between time and eternity. It knows linear time only." See also Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, pp. 43 f.

²Op. cit., p. 400.

long time the hope of the individual believer to "get to heaven" when he dies has largely replaced the Parousia hope in the church.¹ Certainly an important reason for this is that the church — both Roman Catholic and Protestant — has in practice largely abandoned the Pauline teaching that we are not given the fulness of eternal life one by one at death (or after Purgatory) but that all believers together, both the living and the dead, will enter the eternal kingdom of God only when Christ returns and we are raised from the dead.² Believers have been encouraged to hope for the fullest bliss of heaven quite apart from the expected return of Christ,³ and this is not essentially different from what Brunner suggests.

If it is true that Paul looked for full salvation only at the Parousia, then he expected an intermediate state of waiting,⁴ during which the dead

¹Cf. Paul Althaus, Die letzten Dinge, 8th ed., pp. 144 ff.

²Cf. O. Cullmann, Christ and Time, 2nd ed., p. 231, "In the primitive Christian expectation, the future of the individual man is completely dependent upon the future of the entire redemptive history."

³The Westminster Confession of Faith ends with the words, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen" — a prayer which must have arisen perpetually from among the first Christians (1 Cor. 16:22; Rev. 22:20). The churches using the Westminster Confession have not, however, been notable for this kind of hope. Could it be, at least partly, because the same confession cuts away much of the incentive for such a prayer by assuring believers that at death "the souls of the righteous...are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory" (chap. 32; contrast 2 Cor. 4:14).

⁴Cf. O. Cullmann, Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?, p. 57, "We wait, and the dead wait. Of course the rhythm of time may be different for them than for the living; and in this way the interim-time may be shortened for them. This does not, indeed, go beyond the New Testament texts and their exegesis, because this expression to sleep, which is the customary designation in the New Testament of the 'interim condition', draws us to the view that for the dead another time-consciousness exists, that of 'those who sleep'. But that does not mean that the dead are not still in time."

Cf. also J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, p. 79, "The dead, just because

in Christ continue to look forward with hope to the appearing of the Lord because they still lack a large part of that redemption which Jesus Christ is now experiencing in glory and will give to them at his coming.¹ But Brunner's interpretation excludes any such period of waiting. Therefore, insofar as that interpretation is the doctrine of the church it will inevitably militate against yearning for the Parousia as the great future event of salvation for all the children of God in all ages, and it will instead encourage the individualistic hope of eternal life at the time of death. This would not help to restore to the church the kind of expectation found in the primitive Christian community.

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Our conclusion must be, then, after discussing the vexed question of the intermediate state in Paul's writings, that although he was indeed reticent about discussing the subject his theology implies a belief that both the living and the dead in Christ have great reason to yearn for the coming of their Lord and the resurrection. E. Stauffer may well have given the correct explanation for the reticence of Paul and the other New Testament writers. After noting that "later Judaism produced all sorts of apoca-

of their death, do not escape from the sighing and the patience with which we must all await the redemption of our body (Rom. 8:23-5). We do not have any advantage over them (1 Thess. 4:15) nor they over us: we are both 'together' in this matter (1 Thess. 4:17)."

¹ Although Paul Althaus (op. cit., p. 144) finds the history of the doctrine of the intermediate state to be such that he would wish to eliminate the doctrine completely, and although he comes to a dogmatic conclusion similar to that of Brunner, he says of 2 Cor. 5: "Paulus spricht es zwar nicht ausdrücklich aus, aber es liegt in seinen Worten beschlossen, dass der Gestorbene, obgleich bei dem Herrn, der Auferstehung wartet, ja sich ihr entgegensehnt, weil die Leiblosigkeit kein ganzes Leben ist."

lypses purporting to come from above, in which life after death in its different forms is graphically described," he writes:

By contrast the writers of the early Church speak of such things with the greatest reserve. Why? Because they are agreed upon one basic conviction: death is not a final solution. The post-mortem state is only temporary, pointing beyond itself to a future and final state. So the interest of the earliest Christian thinkers concentrated upon that.¹

¹New Testament Theology, p. 213.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Death Destroyed — The Resurrection

The present age is an age of sin and death, but the coming age will be an age of righteousness and life. The Son of God became man in order to rescue us from our sins and so deliver us from this present evil age (Gal. 1:4). He who knew no sin became sin for us (2 Cor. 5:21) and suffered the death of a sinner for us sinners. And because his death was a perfect act of obedience and love, sin was overcome and death defeated (Rom. 5:18). Having died to $\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ he for ever "lives to God", absolutely triumphant over sin and death (Rom. 6:9 f.). Having won his triumph as man for men, his victory is our victory. In him humanity has been delivered from death to life. In the person of the one man Jesus, raised from the dead, the coming age has fully come: for him sin and death are no more and the purpose for which he became man has been achieved.

But the victory is only representatively and therefore potentially complete for all other men. Those who refuse the gospel are still as enslaved by sin and death as if Christ had not died and been raised. Those, on the other hand, who believe the gospel and are baptized into Christ die with him and are raised with him to newness of life (Rom. 6:2 ff.), while they continue to dwell in bodies of sinful flesh which make them still a part of the present evil age. These, the saints, live in two aeons at once. They have begun to share the fruits of Christ's victory. They experience the $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\eta\ \chi\alpha\acute{\rho}\iota\varsigma$ (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15) in the "inner man", but the "outer man" is still in bondage to corruption.

Their redemption is incomplete; they live a life of tension between the new and the old. In Christ they have the Spirit, the ἀρχή of the coming age of righteousness and life; they even now, spiritually, dwell with Christ in heavenly places (Eph. 2:5 f.; Col. 3:1, 3). But still they groan, waiting for the redemption of their bodies (Rom. 8:23; 2 Cor. 5:2 ff.). Although pneumatically they are alive because of righteousness, they are dead somatically because of the power of sin still dwelling in them (Rom. 8:10). Being in the Spirit united with Christ, who is at the right hand of God, their true πνεῦμα is in heaven (Phil. 3:20; Col. 3:1 ff.); but being in their bodies of flesh still united with Adam, they are subject to the effects of his sin in a fallen cosmos.

Therefore, the saints await with eager longing the παρουσία of Jesus Christ, who will then complete their redemption by transforming their bodies of flesh into bodies of glory like his own (Phil. 3:21). Then and then only will they be completely liberated from the power of sin and death. For this reason the dead in Christ also wait. They are free from all the miseries which they suffered at the hands of sin while they still lived in bodies of sinful flesh. Thus they are at rest while they wait. But they also wait in hope for the appearing of their Lord -- they also await the redemption of their bodies. Death will not be conquered until their bodies have been completely and finally rescued from death's power by being transformed into bodies which are no longer subject to corruption -- imperishable bodies (1 Cor. 15:42, 53 f.). They are still among the dead, looking forward to the life of glory. The living and the dead will "inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 15:50) on the day of resurrection, when all who belong to

Christ will be given the bodies which will fit them for life in the coming age of glory -- for enjoying "the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. 1:12). The dead will be raised from the dead and the living will be "changed" (1 Cor. 15:52, 1 Thess. 4:15 ff.).

Then shall come to pass the saying that is written:
 "Death is swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor. 15:54).

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An investigation of Paul's teaching about the resurrection does not, of course, lie within the scope of our study except insofar as the resurrection is victory over death and therefore contains implications as to what death is. The nature of the victory has things to say about the nature of the enemy. We should expect to find in Paul's teaching about the resurrection a sort of recapitulation in reverse of what we have learned about Paul's thinking about death as an evil thing from which God's creation needs to be saved. Moreover, we should also expect Paul's teaching about the resurrection to reflect his thinking about Christ's death-resurrection as the great saving event which makes possible the full and final salvation of those who belong to Christ. Furthermore, we have already in past chapters largely exploited the Pauline resurrection passages for what they have to say about death; so, for this reason also, an exposition of what Paul's teaching about the resurrection implies about death will be, to a considerable extent, in the nature of a recapitulation.

According to Paul's doctrine, the coming resurrection is to be corporate and cosmic. We have seen that Paul traced the origin of death to the sin of Adam. He believed that when Adam, appointed by the Creator to be

lord over the earth, rebelled against his Lord, death came upon him and his descendants and upon their whole world. The 'dis-creative' power of sin was given entrance into the cosmos by Adam's rebellion and has ever since shown its presence and activity in the form of death -- in distortion and corruption of man's nature and of the whole creation. The recovery of God's lost creation will likewise be achieved through one man, Jesus Christ, whom Paul terms "the last Adam".

For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order; Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ (1 Cor. 15:21 ff.; see also vv. 45 ff. and Rom. 5:15 ff.).

Sin and death were conquered when Jesus died and rose again, but the full results of that victory await the manifestation of Christ in power and glory. Then Christ will "subject all things to himself" (Phil. 3:21), making possible the resurrection of all who belong to the new humanity of which Christ, the "last Adam", is the head. This great salvation event will involve not only humanity. The resurrection will be part of a renewal of the whole world-system in which man has his life and over which the Creator intended man, as his representative, to rule. All elements of the creation which fell under the blight of sin's power (i.e. death) without willing participation in Adam's sin ($\sigmaύχ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$) will be redeemed along with the "sons of God" from "bondage to decay" (Rom. 8:19 ff.). When Adam sinned he fell, along with the rest of creation, under the domination of principalities and powers, which are powers of death¹ because they are

¹Cf. H. Schlier, Principalities and Powers in the New Testament, p. 33, "In their nature the principalities present the universe and human life as

powers of sin. These powers Christ will subdue, reasserting as Son of man man's rightful lordship.¹ Then and then only will death be destroyed for ever; because the human lordship which Christ will triumphantly reassert will be of the kind the first Adam failed to give. It will be a lordship which is in full submission to God.

Then comes the end, when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power. For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death. "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet." But when it says, "All things are put in subjection under him," it is plain that he is excepted who put all things under him. When all things are subjected to him, then the Son himself will also be subjected to him who put all things under him, that God may be everything to every one (1 Cor. 15:24 ff.).

A very important part of Paul's doctrine of the coming resurrection is its promise of a new body. We have seen that, according to Paul, the body of flesh constitutes a special problem for the man in Christ. It is a "body of sin" (Rom. 6:6) and a "body of death" (Rom. 7:24). Sin has its special stronghold in the body of flesh, so that although the "inner man" becomes a "new creation" of the Holy Spirit when a person is

a world of death. It is by subjecting them that death results. Through their nature they introduce death to the world, and so they show themselves as beings of death."

¹Cf. M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam", SJT, vol. 7, 1954, p. 175. Speaking of the "eschatological scheme" found in the passage beginning at 1 Cor. 15:21, Black says that it is "a 'Son of Man' eschatology." Of vv. 23 ff. he says: "The Apostle is still thinking of Christ as the Second Adam; that is clear from verse 26, where Christ abolishes at the parousia the last enemy, Death, the legacy of the first Adam. Did he have the Synoptic Son of Man in mind, and is the Second Adam his substitute for it? Verse 25 removes any doubts on the first point: the closing words of the quotation from Ps. 8:6 speak of 'all things' being put 'in subjection' beneath Christ's feet, including death."

baptized into Christ and increasingly shares in the power of Christ's resurrection, the "outer man" remains fully under the "bondage to decay". Furthermore, the body of flesh severely inhibits the possibilities of the new "inner man", because $\epsilon\sigma\omega$ and $\epsilon\zeta\omega$ are not two independent entities but two aspects of the same person. The life of the man in Christ is a life of tension, a life burdened and compromised, as long as the power of sin continues resident in his person. When he dies he is freed from the presence of sin in his person (Rom. 6:7), but without a body he is incomplete. Without a body he is less than the person God created and thus cannot possibly live in that full sense which the Creator intended. Even though he is "with Christ" he is among the dead. He needs to be raised from the dead, being given a body with which to live. That is why "life" or "eternal life" is an eschatological reality for Paul.¹ The new life which the believer has in Christ is, indeed, already eternal life in that it is the $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ and the $\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\beta\acute{o}\nu$ of that life which will be his when he becomes fully a part of the coming age of glory at the resurrection. Full life in the Spirit must await the hour when "life" is given to our "mortal bodies" (Rom. 8:11), when they are "changed" (1 Cor. 15:51) into bodies "like his glorious body" (Phil. 3:21).

Paul calls the body which will be given to the saints a "spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:44 ff.), but this does not mean that he intended his

¹Some expressions from Rom. 5 and 6 will illustrate this. As death has "reigned" through Adam, the justified man will "reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ" (5:17). Grace has mightily increased just where sin increased, "so that as sin reigned in death, grace also might reign through righteousness to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord" (5:21). "If we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. For we know that Christ being raised from the dead will never die again" (6:8 f.).

readers to understand by "spiritual" that which is the opposite of materiality.¹ There is no reason to think that Paul was inclined to make such a philosophical distinction. His thought is characterized by a *πνεῦμα-σὰρξ* antinomy, which is intensely ethico-religious in character; and this is different from the ontological distinction which our minds make between spirit and matter. The *σῶμα πνευματικόν* is a body in which there is no longer any of the *σὰρξ* opposition to *πνεῦμα* remaining, i.e. in which the

¹ Cf. J. Héring, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, trans. from 2nd French ed. by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, London, 1962, pp. 176 f., "If there is any Cartesian prejudice to the term 'spiritual body' — by which 'spiritual' would be equated with what lacks substance and extension, and would therefore be in contradiction to 'body' — then this must be overcome...."

"So we must soak ourselves in this truth that the resurrection of the body is not immaterial. In Pauline language we should say: the risen person is not a naked seed, but is clad. This body is not endowed with a lesser reality than the present physical body; it has nothing in common with the spectral body of phantoms or ghostly apparitions (cf. Lk. 24:37 ff). In one way, it is even more real than our corruptible body, because it is 'without weakness' and full of 'strength'."

Cf. also Wm. Childs Robinson, "The Resurrection", Interpretation, vol. 16, April 1962, p. 180, "I Corinthians 15 teaches that the present body is sown a psychical (natural, psychological, soulful, animate) body and will be raised a spiritual body. In both cases the contrasting adjective describes not the composition but the control of the body....As 'spiritual' in I Corinthians 2:13-15 and 10:3-4 does not convert the man or the bread into spirit, so neither is the adjective 'spiritual' in I Corinthians 15:44-49 to evaporate the noun or 'de-physicize' the body into a ghost."

Cf. also J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, p. 32, "*σῶμα* [as compared with *σὰρξ*] is also matter as it is created for God, but it is not in the least constituted what it is by its being physical. It fulfils its essence by being utterly subject to Spirit, not by being either material or immaterial."

Cf. also E. Stauffer, New Testament Theology, p. 135, "Any materialist conception of what took place on Easter morning is quite foreign to the NT — but so is any sort of spiritualization. The risen Lord is no spirit, but is rather to be thought of as having a spiritual body, which is as different from a purely physical body as it is from a purely pneumatic existence."

Spirit of God has complete freedom.¹ It is a body which will produce no "works of the flesh" — and it is to be remembered that for Paul these include not only 'physical' or sensual sins but also 'spiritual' sins such as self-righteousness, idolatry, selfishness, and envy (Gal. 5:19 f.; Phil. 3:4, 9). It is a body in which there can be no opposition between the "inner man" and the "outer man", thereby banishing the fearful frustration of one's better desires which Rom. 7 describes. It is a body which will be the perfect expression or instrument of an "inner man" which belongs to the "new creation" of the Holy Spirit, because it also belongs to the same order of being. When the saint receives such a body at the resurrection his whole being will become, at last, a perfect unity. Then and then only will the saint's "hope of righteousness"² be perfectly fulfilled, when "faith working through love" will find its fruition (Gal. 5:5 f.).³

¹Cf. K. Barth, The Resurrection of the Dead, trans. by H. J. Stenning, London, 1933, pp. 202 f. "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body", states verse 44a. In this sentence, Paul has said for the first time quite unequivocally what he understands by the resurrection of the dead, and why he speaks of the resurrection of the dead generally and not, for example, in general terms of the superiority of the creative and redemptive power of God. Without any doubt at all the words 'resurrection of the dead' are, for him, nothing else than a paraphrase of the word 'God'. What else could the Easter gospel be except the gospel become perfectly concrete that God is the Lord?...The Spirit, not our pinch of spirit and spirituality, but God's Spirit triumphs not just in a pure spirituality (Geistsein), but: it is raised a (God-) spiritual body, the end of God's way is corporeality."

²Gal. 5:5 in the N.E.B. is: "For to us, our hope of attaining that righteousness which we eagerly await is the work of the Spirit through faith."

Cf. G. S. Duncan on Gal. 5:5 (MNTC, p. 156), "Though the believer is 'accepted as righteous' ('justified') here and now, he relies on Christ to complete the good work that has been begun in him, and to 'make him righteous' so that he can be accepted on the day of judgment."

³Cf. C. A. A. Scott, Christianity According to St. Paul, p. 242, "The

We see here clearly reflected Paul's conviction that death flows from sin and life from righteousness. Death will be completely destroyed and the life to which God has destined man will be fully triumphant only when righteousness has totally eliminated the power of sin and its effects. This will happen only when the weakness of the flesh (Gen. 6:3) is gone, when man has no weakness towards sin or participation in sin, when the Spirit of God has so fully recreated him that "the image of the man of dust" is gone and "the image of the man of heaven" has taken its place (1 Cor. 15:49). Then with all the energy of his new being he will give himself freely, joyfully, and totally in response to the holy love of God. Then will he "reign in life" (Rom. 5:17), completely and finally liberated from enslavement to sin and death.

Finally, Paul's doctrine of resurrection from the dead is, from center to circumference wholly determined by his understanding of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. God raised Jesus from the dead to glory at his own right hand because the manner in which Jesus died constituted the perfect "act of righteousness", which "leads to acquittal and life (εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς) for all men" (Rom. 5:18). The only resurrection from the dead which the Pauline letters know anything about is the resurrection of Christ to glory, which Christ will share with all those who accept what he has done for them in his death. No word can be found about a general resurrection to judgment or of a second resurrection to eternal

body that now is is a body of humiliation, because through it man has become subject to various shifting servitudes. The body that is to be is a body 'of glory' and of Christ's glory, because like His body it is to be the expression and the instrument of moral perfectness."

life. This fact has been well expressed by J. Héring in his commentary on First Corinthians:

Paul's conception is absolutely incompatible with the representation of the resurrection which has been popularized by medieval sculpture...in this the dead rise up with their fleshly bodies afflicted with all their weaknesses, to be glorified after the event if all goes well. According to the Apostle there is no other resurrection than the glorious resurrection. 'It is raised in glory.' That is why the resurrection of unbelievers is not mentioned in 15:24. So there are neither two different resurrections, nor a neutral general resurrection leading to glory for some, and to eternal torment for others. All such speculations are completely foreign to Paul's teaching.¹

It is hard to see how Héring's estimate can be successfully gained. The realities of Christ's resurrection were so determinative of Paul's thinking about resurrection from the dead as to give him a large degree of independence from traditional patterns of eschatological teaching. Therefore, no one has the right to say what Paul "must have" believed unless he bases his reasoning on what the Pauline letters actually teach.

But if we are to conceive only of a resurrection to eternal life, what of those whose minds "the god of this world" successfully blinds to the "gospel of the glory of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4)? We have already considered this question² and concluded that Paul may have expected that such persons will face the final judgment as disembodied spirits and be sentenced without having experienced resurrection of the body,³ to "suffer the punish-

¹Op. cit., p. 177.

²See above, pp. 153 ff.

³P. Althaus disagrees. He admits that for Paul resurrection is resurrection to eternal life: "Die Auferstehung der Christgläubigen ist ihm nicht ein Sonderfall der allgemeinen Totenaufstehung, sondern etwas ganz anderes als diese, nämlich Anteil an der Auferstehung Jesu Christi, begründet in der

ment of eternal destruction and exclusion from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might, when he comes on that day to be glorified in his saints, and to be marveled at in all who have believed" (2 Thess. 1:9 f.). In that case, we must understand Paul's promise that death will be destroyed as referring to the recreated cosmos, not necessarily excluding the continuation of death's power over beings excluded from the new creation (cf. Is. 35:8 ff.; Rev. 21:5-8); and we must take his promise that "all" shall be "made alive" as referring to all who are "in Christ" ("in Christ shall all be made alive", 1 Cor. 15:22),¹ who will inhabit the recreated cosmos as the new humanity, of which Christ is the head. As J. Héring puts it:

Much weight is sometimes given to the words... 'all shall be restored to life' (15:22) in order to assert the universality of the resurrection in Paul's teaching, that is, a resurrection of the elect and of all others. But we shall

Lebensgemeinschaft mit ihm, in dem Empfang seines Geistes. Die Auferstehung der Gläubigen ist also ohne weiteres Heil, Versetzung in das Leben Christi, in das ewige Leben. Die allgemeine Auferstehung dagegen ist neutrale Wiederbelebung, blosse Voraussetzung für Heil und Unheil." (Die letzten Dinge, 8th ed., p. 115). But, nonetheless, Paul must have believed in a general resurrection: "Paulus setzt die allgemeine Auferstehung deutlich voraus, wenn er sie auch nicht direkt lehrt. Er muss an ihr festhalten, da er nicht nur die Wirklichkeit des Heils in Christo für die Glaubenden, sondern auch die Möglichkeit des Unglaubens sieht, dessen das Gericht und der ewige Zorn wartet. Die gleiche Notwendigkeit besteht aber für alle christliche Theologie." (p. 116). Why? Because, according to Althaus, Christian theology must reject the concept of immortality of the soul even to the point of denying existence to the dead except as God "awakens" the dead in "resurrection". "Awakening" and "resurrection" are held to be synonymous not only for believers but for all men: "Es gibt Existenz nach dem Tode nur durch Auferweckung, Auferstehung" (p. 114). Therefore, if there is to be judgment for all men there must also be a general resurrection.

¹Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, St Paul's Conceptions of Last Things, p. 310. In beginning his demonstration that 1 Cor. 15:21 f. is not to be understood as teaching universal salvation, Kennedy asserts: "These verses must on no account be isolated from their context. Solitary proof-texts have wrought more havoc in theology than all the heresies."

see that this interpretation utterly contradicts his eschatology. If we look more closely at the meaning of 15:20-2 we shall see that each of the two Adams acts as the head of a humanity — the old and the new. Now, not all men, but Christians only who belong to the body of Christ form the new humanity. That is the meaning of 'en' (15:22), which connotes the respective belonging to Adam or to Christ. Now, we repeat, all men are not 'in Christ'. So we are in the presence of two humanities, each one having an 'Adam' as its founder and head. 'Pantes' should therefore be taken cum grano salis as 'all who depend on Christ'....Those who belong to the first Adam only — this is the inevitable conclusion — will not rise again.¹

There is every reason to think that Paul yearned for the final liberation of every single human being from the power of sin and death with at least the intensity of the most convinced universalist of our own day. He offered the gospel to every man, and with unexampled zeal strove to win every man. He believed that God purposed to "have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32; cf. 1 Tim. 2:4, 6) and that the power of God's grace in Christ is beyond all reckoning. We can be assured that Paul prayed and hoped for the salvation of all, but that he included in his teaching a doctrine of the inevitableness of universal salvation is most unlikely. The urgency of his missionary efforts strongly suggests that he knew no grounds for such complacency. He believed that in the death of Christ God has provided reconciliation to himself for all men — yes, for "all things, whether on earth or in heaven" (Col. 1:19); but to say that he categorically predicted the acceptance of that reconciliation by all goes beyond the exegetical evidence.

Paul believed that Christ conquered death by triumphing over the

¹Op. cit., p. 165.

power of sin in a selfless giving of himself in death for others.

Christ's victory was on behalf of all his brothers, but any man can exclude himself from actually enjoying the fruits of that victory by refusing to share in the brotherhood of Christ's dying to self. This central challenge of Paul's gospel must not be compromised.

EPILOGUE

The only serious justification for a work in biblical theology such as the one just concluded is that it may be able to give some direction to the message of the church. For that reason, the writer takes this opportunity to present a personal statement on directions he feels the message of the church ought to take in order that it may be more closely conformed to the teachings of Scripture concerning death and that it may better serve the spiritual needs of contemporary man. He speaks out of twenty-five years experience as a minister of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and when he characterizes the message of the church today it will be largely that with which he has become acquainted in a variety of non-Roman churches in the United States.

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1. The church should break its silence on the subject of death.

In most American churches the pastor would create a minor sensation if he were to announce that on the next Lord's Day his sermon subject would be "Death". In funerals, of course, the subject cannot be evaded; but the funeral message, when there is one, is commonly devoted — apart from eulogizing the deceased — to comforting the bereaved. No disturbing words must be spoken and no serious teaching about the Biblical understanding of death is likely to be undertaken.

It isn't as if people have ceased to be concerned about death. There can be no doubt that today as always — whether at the conscious or at some other level — death has an obsessive interest for the human mind. Little children freely express their interest in death and their fear of it. To know that all which lives must die gives, somehow, an indescribable flavour to everything about life. The knowledge of death gives a special poignancy and power to all the great human drives: to sex, to the lust for power, to the hunger for security, and to the love of beauty. The attempt to overcome the fear of death by attempting to banish the thought of death does great damage in the lives of men. There is a crying need always to be open

and honest about death.

One of the reasons why the Bible speaks to the human condition -- if it is allowed to speak -- is that it is open and honest about death. Death is one of its great themes. It cannot be denied that Paul's thinking about death provided him with a pivot of great importance for his interpretation of the Gospel. There can be little doubt that one of the important reasons for the irresistible power of the Christian message in the first century was the way in which it dealt with the hunger of that century for a sure word about death. If the church is to speak to the human condition in the twentieth century it must be open and honest about death -- and it must have a confident message.

If those responsible for proclaiming the Christian message will not speak about death there are signs that others will increasingly insist on breaking the false silence. Existentialist philosophers are concerned with man's anxiety over the fact that his life is a "being-to-death" ("Sein zum Tode", Heidegger), and it is impressive with what childlike candour some literary artists today admit their obsessive concern about death.¹ Since artists are often the first to reflect changes in general attitudes, this may mean that there is even a greater malaise concerning death than usual in most people. Let the church speak to this great human need!

¹For example, the playwright Ionesco. The Sunday Times for September 1, 1963, describes his recently published play Exit the King (London: John Calder, 1963) as "a play about the inside and the outside of death" and gives extracts from conversations with him which were conducted in London shortly before the play was written, from which the following has been taken:

"Ionesco: Death is inadmissible. If we didn't have to die we'd be kinder and more patient. If we were immortal we'd be gayer and better. Not to be immortal has always given me a profound feeling of insecurity. When I was first conscious of my own existence -- I was fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen -- I was amazed beyond all expression at the fact of being alive. I felt that it was something that could be lost at any moment. Even today I expect the catastrophe to occur from one moment to the next and the earth to open at my feet. After all, none of us will be spared in the end. Some people derive an intense, driving nervous energy from this very precariousness; I find it paralyzing.

"Question/ Was it always so?

"It began when I was about five years old and realised what it meant when I saw a funeral. People were dying. When I asked my mother why this was she said that they'd been taken ill, or that they'd always been ill, and

2. The church should boldly reassert the full cosmic dimensions of the redemption promised in the New Testament and the full cosmic and demonic proportions of the human problem as it is understood by the New Testament.

It is commonly thought even by members of the church that the Christian answer to the problem of death is simply the belief in the immortality of the soul, with an ethical emphasis. Good people go to heaven when they die and live there for ever more and bad people -- (we don't talk about that any more because, really, it can't be all that bad). The 'resurrection' of Jesus is thought to be an illustration of human immortality. One vaguely knows that the New Testament talks about the return of Christ and of the resurrection of the dead, but such teachings seem strange and irrelevant. It's mostly just the "queer" sects that preach that sort of thing any more.

The teaching of the New Testament, as we have seen, does not involve a denial that something of man survives the experience of death, but the New Testament hope depends not at all on a confidence that something in man is strong enough to survive death's onslaughts. It depends rather on the power of God -- "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" (Rom. 4:17). God "alone has immortality" (1 Tim. 6:16), and he gives life to whom he wills. He has given life to all that lives and he raised the man Jesus -- the whole man -- from the dead to a kind of life in which death has been banished for ever -- a kind of life in which death has no part because a kind of life in which the corrupting power of sin has no part. In the resurrection of Jesus God has demonstrated his power and his determination to rescue his creation in its wholeness from the power of death. God does not intend to snatch only a part of his creation -- the "soul" of man -- from the desolation of death's dominion.

Without the belief that the tomb of Jesus was empty on Easter morning

that they'd got worse and died. So I thought that the thing was never to get ill. But later I said to myself 'All right, if I never get ill I'll never die. But everyone gets old. Older and older and older, with a back ever more bent and a head nearer and nearer the ground and a beard longer and longer. That sort of thing can't go on for ever, that's certain.' So then a terrible suspicion came over me and I said to my mother 'Now tell me the truth. Do we all have to die?' And my mother said 'Yes. That's how it is. We all have to die.'

"I was completely in despair."

there would have been no Christian church in the first place. A latter-day church should never allow itself to imagine that it can get along without that belief. It should understand and boldly proclaim the implications of the fact that the whole person of our Lord was raised from the dead. The church today should admit, with Paul, that "if Christ has not been raised our preaching is in vain" and our "faith is futile" (1 Cor. 15:14, 17). "But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead"; therefore the church has the glad message that death has been "swallowed up in victory" (1 Cor. 15:20, 54) for one man and will be "swallowed up in victory" for all who accept the grace of God which God gives to his creation in that one man.

The church should proclaim this word in every age out of loyalty to revealed truth and not be swerved from the path of loyalty by any winds of worldly doctrine; but it might well be noted that this is a propitious time for reasserting the truth that the Christian hope does not depend on evidence that the soul of man is immortal. The kind of empirical evidence which means so much to modern man is mountainously in favour of the belief that man is an essential unity rather than a spiritual something distinct from his materiality. Of course, that does not mean that it has become easier for men to believe in the resurrection of the dead; it has only become easier to see that resurrection is the proper alternative to believing in death's total victory. The "wise" of our day are as ready to scoff at the doctrine of resurrection as they were in the first century. But in the first century the Christian believers challenged this scepticism ("Why is it thought incredible by any of you that God raises the dead?", Acts 26:8) so confidently by both word and manner of life that this incredible doctrine became credible for many and helped to give them a radically new and joyful way of looking at life.

Let the church today show by its worship (every Lord's Day an Easter) that it lives by faith in the Resurrected One and let it show by its work that it understands -- and gladly understands -- the implications of the resurrection hope. How paltry are the finest secular hopes for a new human society compared to the Christian hope for a new creation! Let the modern disciples of the Resurrected One pray and let them work not to the end that

God will take them to heaven when they die but to the end that God's kingdom will come and that his will shall be done on earth perfectly. Let them show that the Christian hope is no mere selfish desire for individual survival but a commitment to victory of good over evil and life over death for every one and every part of this divinely given world of ours. Let them show by their unswerving confidence in every discouragement that the accomplishment of their hope is assured by the power of God who raised Jesus Christ from the dead.

To the end that this positive message of redemption through resurrection be more clearly understood, it should be accompanied by a clear presentation of the New Testament understanding of what death is. The New Testament sees all death as the work of the Enemy. God is the Author of life and never of death. Death is, from the viewpoint of the New Testament as well as from Ionesco's viewpoint, inadmissible! Furthermore, death as the cessation of bodily activity is viewed in the New Testament as of one piece with all kinds of evil. Death as decease is only the culmination of a unified reality of evil continuous with man's whole life. Death is a proper term for all the visible and invisible effects of the mysterious power of evil which is at work everywhere in the world. That which one sees when he observes a living organism change into a putrefying corpse is of one piece not only with a developing cancer or a raging fever but also with that "worldly grief [which] produces death" (2 Cor. 7:10) and with all ugliness and all misery and with all that causes ugliness and misery and bodily decline. Death is the sign and the substance of the curse which rests on a world in which evil is at work -- in which God's will is resisted.

Death is not only the stench of the dead and the dying in the Nazi concentration camps at the end of World War II but it is also that decease of brotherliness and compassion, that monstrous horror of hatred and arrogance, that spiritual death which was the Nazi mentality -- and, let us always remind ourselves, the Nazi mentality was merely an aggravation of the mentality to which we are all addicted! Death is not only Hiroshima in August 1945 but it is that mysterious distortion of the human spirit which has a way of turning the results of man's finest ingenuity into instruments of desolation.

Ours is not merely a world in which living things eventually die; it is a world in which death reigns -- not just in morgues and in cemeteries but its power is to be seen everywhere. Ours is a world every part of which stands in need of redemption from death. It is a world in which death opposes the dreams of all men: Christians, humanists, and Communists alike. Death reigns in our world because it is a world alienated from God. Evidence for this is to be found in the fact that death begins to lose its power wherever the will of God begins to prevail -- wherever the Spirit of the living Christ prevails and men become reconciled to God and to each other.

To make this doctrine of death clear and impelling will not be an easy task for the church's teachers. It will most certainly require that we somehow learn to give greater scope in our thinking to the Supernatural -- evil as well as good -- than we are accustomed to do in an age in which 'natural law' is thought to be the great determinant of existence.

3. Finally, the church should proclaim the strange and wonderful mystery of salvation through suffering and death. Ours is an age of "flatlanders" who are imaginatively timid in matters religious and metaphysical and who are thoroughly committed to the achievement of security, comfort, and affluence in the here and now. It is difficult doctrine indeed in an age like ours to proclaim that God is committed to the purpose of banishing all suffering and death and that he has chosen to accomplish this through suffering and death. Yet that is what the New Testament teaches. It promises that God will bring to pass "a new heaven and a new earth" in which God will dwell with men and "will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more" (Rev. 21:1 ff.); and the New Testament insists that God will achieve this through his great Suffering Servant who now invites all men to share in his sufferings that they may help to win the coming triumph over everything that mars God's good creation.

The New Testament also teaches that the greatest joy in this present evil age is reserved for sufferers -- for sufferers who seek and find that divine grace which enables them to be "more than conquerors" in the bitter-

est trials (Rom. 8:35 ff.). The church will do much for an affluent age in which life has become stale and flat if it will help men to understand what the Apostle Paul meant when he said such things as "we rejoice in our sufferings" (Rom. 5:3) and "you received the word in much affliction, with joy inspired by the Holy Spirit" (1 Thess. 1:6).

The believer is not to seek suffering, but neither is he to fear it or evade it. When suffering comes he is to accept it as a vocation from God. God's chosen people, the Jews, have known suffering beyond that of any other nation and God's Son suffered as no other man has suffered; so there is much to be said for the strange saying that "the cross is the gift God gives to his friends". This is the way R. P. C. Hanson has put it:

The problem of suffering is one which every religion has somehow to face. Christianity faces it by making suffering the means by which healing and rescue were brought to the world, and the very stock-in-trade and accustomed diet of Christians. Yet to Christians suffering is...an evil force in the world which yet by Christ's atonement can be used for redemption and healing, even in the individual's personal life.

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Suffering is a part of the normal life of the Christian Church anywhere at any time, and if the Church happens to live in a society like ours which tries to run away from and forget such things as suffering and death and the tragic dimension of human existence, it becomes the duty of the Church to stimulate society, and not to soothe it, to remind men of their need and hunger and wretchedness, and of their involvement in the suffering of the world, and not to assure them that they are very decent citizens and good fellows who only lack a spiritual background for their lives.¹

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Let the church never forget that at the centre of its faith stands a gibbet! May the eyes of believers ever be wide with horror and dazzled with amazement at that great sign of a strange and wonderful truth: that just there where sin and death work their greatest havoc God is able to make his saving grace overflow in most abundant victory for righteousness and life!

¹ Second Corinthians (TBC), pp. 34 f.

A P P E N D I X

The scope and complexity of the materials available for a reconstruction of Paul's theology of death can be partly indicated by noting the terms he used in referring to death and how often they occur. Such a catalogue can serve as a sort of checklist to determine if our reconstruction does justice to all aspects of the Apostle's thinking about death.

The following list is generously inclusive in order that none of Paul's expressions on our subject may be ignored. Some terms are discussed briefly, especially when their inclusion can be questioned.

The list is not alphabetical, because an attempt has been made to group the terms according to meaning.

1. θάνατος - Rom. 1:32; 5:10, 12, 14, 17, 21; 6:3, 4, 5, 9, 16, 21, 23; 7:5, 10, 13, ¹³24; 8:2, 6, 38; 1 Cor. 3:22; 11:26; 15:21, 26, 54, 55, 56; 2 Cor. 1:9, 10; 2:16, 16; 3:7; 4:11, 12; 7:10; 11:23; Phil. 1:20; 2:8, 8, 27, 30; 3:10; Col. 1:22.
2. νεκρός - Rom. 1:4; 4:17, 24; 6:4, 9, 11, 13; 7:4, 8; 8:10, 11, 11; 10:7, 9; 11:15; 14:9; 1 Cor. 15:12, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 29, 29, 32, 35, 42, 52; 2 Cor. 1:9; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:20; 2:1, 5; 5:14; Phil. 3:11; Col. 1:18; 2:12, 13; 1 Thess. 1:10; 4:16.
3. ἀποθνήσκειν - Rom. 5:6, 7, 7, 8, 15; 6:2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 10; 7:2, 3, 6, 10; 8:13, 34; 14:7, 8, 8, 8, 9, 15; 1 Cor. 8:11; 9:15; 15:3, 22, 31, 32, 36; 2 Cor. 5:14, 15, 15, 15; 6:9; Gal. 2:19, 21; Phil. 1:21; Col. 2:20; 3:3; 1 Thess. 4:14; 5:10.
4. συνάποθνήσκειν - 2 Cor. 7:3.
5. ἀποκτείνειν - Rom. 7:11; 11:3; 2 Cor. 3:6; Eph. 2:16; 1 Thess. 2:15.
6. θανατοῦν - Rom. 7:4; 8:13, 36; 2 Cor. 6:9.
7. νεκροῦν - Rom. 4:19; 3:5.
8. ἀναιρεῖν - 2 Thess. 2:8.

9. φονεύειν - Rom. 13:9.
10. σταυρός - 1 Cor. 1:17, 18; Gal. 5:11; 6:12, 14; Eph. 2:16; Phil. 2:8; 3:18; Col. 1:20; 2:14.
11. σταυροῦν - 1 Cor. 1:13, 23; 2:2, 8; 2 Cor. 13:4; Gal. 3:1; 5:24; 6:14.
12. συνσταυροῦσθαι - Rom. 6:6; Gal. 2:19.
13. παραδίδόναι - Rom. 1:24, 26, 28; 4:25; 8:32; 1 Cor. 5:5; 13:3; 2 Cor. 4:11; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 4:19; 5:2, 25.
 Paul uses this verb five times (Rom. 6:17; 1 Cor. 11:2, 23; 15:3, 24) when it clearly does not refer to death, and these references are not given, of course, in the above list. In six passages (Rom. 4:25; 8:32; 2 Cor. 4:11; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 5:2, 25) the reference to death is patent: eg. the παρεδόθη of Rom. 4:25 is translated "was put to death" in the R.S.V. The remaining six instances are uncertain. Two of these probably refer to death: one has to do with the incestuous member in Corinth being delivered "to Satan for the destruction of the flesh" (1 Cor. 5:5) and the other speaks of delivering one's "body to be burned" (1 Cor. 13:3). It seems possible that the term may have been a formula expression in the early church (eg. Ἰουδας...ὁ καὶ παραδούς αὐτόν, Mt. 10:4) referring to the suffering and death of Jesus and so tending to carry a connotation of death. Of the other four, three speak of God giving over idolaters to immoral living (Rom. 1:24, 26, 28), and one of godless Gentiles giving themselves over to licentiousness (Eph. 4:19). Although these four seem remote from the idea of death, they may well have carried in Paul's mind the thought of spiritual deadness (see chap. 6); that is, to be surrendered to one's sins is to be given over to their killing power (cf. Eph. 2:1 f.).
14. αἷμα - Rom. 3:15, 25; 5:9; 1 Cor. 10:16; 11:25, 27; Eph. 1:7; 2:13; Col. 1:20.
 In Rom. 3:15 to "shed blood" is synonymous with to "kill". In the other cited passages "the blood of Christ" is synonymous with "the death of Christ."
15. κοιμᾶσθαι - 1 Cor. 7:39; 11:30; 15:6, 18, 20, 51; 1 Thess. 4:13, 14, 15.
16. καθεύδειν - Eph. 5:14, 1 Thess. 5:6, 7, 10.
 In 1 Thess. 5:10 καθεύδειν refers to the condition of a believer who has died, just as κοιμᾶσθαι does. The other references are given because they may well have been a metaphor, in Paul's mind, for the spiritually dead condition of those who have not come alive in Christ.
17. θάπτειν - 1 Cor. 15:4.
18. συνθάπτεσθαι - Rom. 6:4; Col. 2:12.
 To be buried with Christ in baptism is to share in his death.
19. σπείρειν - 1 Cor. 15:42, 43, 43, 44.
 If those commentators are right (eg. J. Moffatt) who insist that the "sow-

ing" in these passages refers to birth instead of to death, these references should not be included.

20. νέκρωσις - Rom. 4:19; 2 Cor. 4:10.
21. ἐπιθανάτος - 1 Cor. 4:9.
22. διαφθείρεσθαι - 2 Cor. 4:16.
Death is at work in the body (4:12), weakening it (see chap. 7).
23. μάχαιρα - Rom. 8:35; 13:4.
In the first reference μάχαιρα is the culminating term in a list of calamities and means "death". In the second, the "sword" stands for the authority to inflict the ultimate punishment.
24. ἀπώλεια - Rom. 9:22; Phil. 1:28; 3:19; 2 Thess. 2:3.
The "destruction" of these passages carries the ominous implication of final separation from God, i.e. eternal death.
25. ἀπολλύναι - Rom. 2:12; 14:15; 1 Cor. 1:18; 8:11; 10:9, 10; 15:18; 2 Cor. 2:15; 4:3, 9; 2 Thess. 2:10.
To "destroy" or to "perish" involves the same reality as covered elsewhere by the more comprehensive to "kill" or to "die". 1 Cor. 10:9 and 10 refer to incidents recounted in the book of Numbers where the destruction was death.
26. ὄλεθρος - 1 Cor. 5:5; 1 Thess. 5:3; 2 Thess. 1:9.
Again, "destruction" in these passages involves death in one or other of the forms conceived of in Paul's theology of death.
27. ὀλοθρευτής - 1 Cor. 10:10.
This refers, most likely, to "the destroyer" who first appears (Ex. 12:23, τὸν ὀλερεύοντα) as the agent of Yahweh who killed the first-born of Egypt and who later put to death those who murmured in the wilderness (Nu. 16). Cf. Wisdom of Solomon 18:22, 25.
28. καταλύειν - Rom. 14:20; 2 Cor. 5:1.
The second instance clearly refers to the death of the body, and the first implies destruction in a more ultimate sense.
29. καταστρώωνυσθαι - 1 Cor. 10:5.
Another word carrying the idea of destruction and referring here to the penal death of the older generation in the wilderness.
30. ἀναλύνειν - Phil. 1:23.
Here a metaphor for dying.
31. ἐκδημεῖν - 2 Cor. 5:8, 9.
A metaphor for dying.

32. ἐκδύεσθαι - 2 Cor. 5:4.
A metaphor for losing the body in death.
33. γυμνός - 2 Cor. 5:3.
The condition of a person who, being dead, is bodiless.
34. ὀνητός - Rom. 6:12; 8:11; 1 Cor. 15:53, 54; 2 Cor. 4:11; 5:4.
The quality of being subject to death.
35. φθατός - Rom. 1:23; 1 Cor. 9:25; 15:53, 54.
Subject to death's destructiveness.
36. φθορά - Rom. 8:21; 1 Cor. 15:42, 50; Gal. 6:8; Col. 2:22.
The decay or corruption resulting from death's dominance.
37. σπένδεσθαι - Phil. 2:17.
A sacrificial metaphor for dying.
38. θυσία - 1 Cor. 10:18; Eph. 5:2.
In these two passages the term involves death, but in at least two others - Rom. 12:1; Phil. 4:18 - it does not.
39. σφαγή - Rom. 8:36.

The frequency of usage of the above terms in each of the ten letters which are being treated as Pauline is as follows:

Romans	89
First Corinthians	67
Second Corinthians	31
Galatians	12
Ephesians	12
Philippians	14
Colossians	11
First Thessalonians	13
Second Thessalonians	4
Philemon	0
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It may be noted that if the above figures are compared with the length of the letters there is a rough but definite correlation. This could be taken as evidence that Paul's interest in the subject was quite constant throughout the period in which he wrote his letters, not increasing appreciably as it began to appear that he would die before the Parousia. The most

noticeable departure from the correlation is the relatively larger number of references in Romans. This may be taken to indicate how important his concept of death was for an exposition of his doctrines of salvation.

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